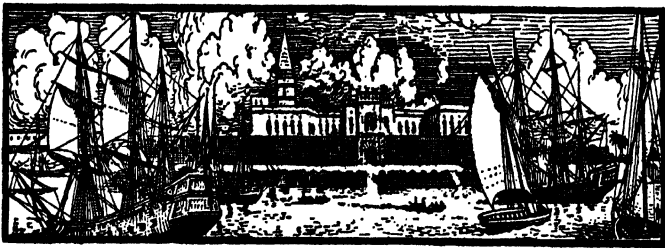
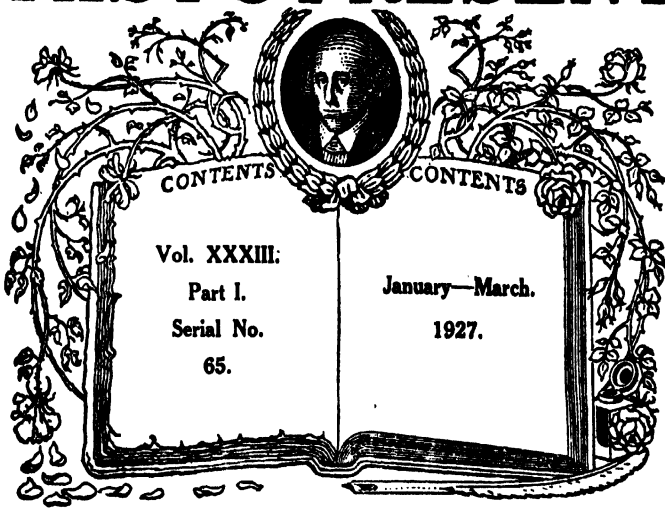


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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.
VOL. XXXIII.



Warren Hastings
by Peter Roew

By the courtesy of Mr. Harrington, Curator, Victoria Memorial.

A Portrait of Warren Hastings.

IN the last number of *Bengal, Past and Present*, we were able, by the courtesy of Rao Vaijnath Das Shapuri, to trace "the lost Zoffany," the portrait of Beniram Pandit. It will be remembered that, in addition to this portrait, Rao Vaijnath Das Shapuri stated that he had a wax portrait-bust of Warren Hastings. In response to my request Rao Vaijnath Das Shapuri very kindly sent me a photograph of this most interesting relic, and he added to his kindness by sending also a copy of the letter, written by Warren Hastings to Bishambar Pandit which accompanied the wax portrait, in which Warren Hastings states that the portrait was made of him in his seventy-third year, *i.e.*, nearly twenty years after he had finally left India. This letter, by the owner's courtesy, we are able to reproduce in this number.

I took the photograph of the wax portrait to the Victoria Memorial Hall, and compared it with the wax medallion of Warren Hastings which is preserved there. [*Vide*, Victoria Memorial. Illustrated Catalogue, No. 1373.] It was at once evident that the wax portrait in the possession of Rao Vaijnath Das Shapuri and the wax-modelled medallion in the Victoria Memorial are identically the same. That in the Victoria Memorial was probably retained by Hastings himself, and was bequeathed by Miss Marian Winter to the Victoria Memorial in 1919. The wax has been apparently hardened by potash and a most charming method of portraiture it is. The medallion gives a good impression of the great Governor-General's tenacious character; the long upper lip, the resolute jaw, the undaunted 'set' of the face all testify to the *mens aequa in arduis* which so pre-eminently distinguished him. The catalogue states that the modeller or sculptor was Peter Roew: in the letter from Hastings it will be seen that he describes him as Peter Round. Sir William Foster writes that "'Round' is not to be found in the Dictionary of National Biography, or the Encyclopedia Britannica, or Bryan, or Redgrave, or Benezet (Dictionaries of Painters)."

The "John Palmer" who brought the medallion to India was the famous merchant (1767—1836) whose bust is in the Town Hall. He was General Palmer's second son: (of *Bengal, Past and Present*, XXIV, 18; XXVI, 167; and XXX, 115).

Of the two medallions, undoubtedly the greater interest is attached to the one in the possession of Rao Vaijnath Das Shapuri; it is the actual representation of himself which Hastings sent to a dear and valued friend, and it is a pleasant reflection that the gift is still cherished by the lineal descendant of the recipient.

We owe the photograph of the medallion to the courtesy of Mr. Harrington, Curator, Victoria Memorial. It is satisfactory, in the same number of this Magazine to be able to reproduce also, through the kindness of

Messrs. John Lane and Co., and Sir Evan Cotton, a copy of the application, in the candidate's own handwriting, of Warren Hastings for a writership in the East India Company's service. The period between the appointment of Warren Hastings as a writer, and the despatch of this medallion was about fifty-five years, and in that fifty-five years are the most eventful features of the history of the British race in India.

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.

Daylesford House, 28th July 1805.

My very dear friend,

Mr. John Palmer, the worthy son of my old and valued friend, Colonel Palmer, has been so good as to take charge of a portrait of my likeness in wax, executed by a very eminent artist, with a promise to deliver it safe to your hands, and I request your acceptance of it. I know you do not require any memorial to keep alive your remembrance of me, but it will be very gratifying to me to know that you have before your eyes a resemblance of my person, such as it now is, after more than twenty years in which I have had to lament our separation. If you perceive any difference in this picture from the remembrance of me which you retain in your mind, I can assure you, and God is my witness, that the sentiments of friendship and affection which I formerly entertained for you have undergone no change, but in their increase; nor have I ever ceased to love and to regret your excellent departed brother, Beneram Pundit.

Though approaching the 73rd solar year of my life I possess an uninterrupted course of good health, and live in comfort and retirement. Mrs. Hastings is (I thank God) well, and desires me to present her regards to Bessumber Pundit, the friend of her husband.

Mr. Palmer will have a pleasure in satisfying you on any other particulars respecting me, which you may wish to know; and will cheerfully undertake to write for you any letter to me in the English language which you may choose to dictate to him. This will (be) more satisfactory to me than a letter in the Persian character, and I hope you will frequently afford me the pleasure of hearing from you.

May the Almighty bless you, my valuable friend, and give you health and a long and prosperous life.

I am ever your truly affectionate and faithful friend,

(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

To Bissumber Pundit.



To the Hon^{ble} the Court of Directors of the
United East India Company

The humble Petition of Warren Hastings
aged Sixteen Years & upwards,

Sheweth

That your Petitioner has been brought
to Writing & Accounts, & being very desirous of
Serving your Honours as a Writer in India,

He therefore humbly prays your
Honours will please to enter him
in that Station, which he
promises to discharge with the
greatest Diligence & Fidelity, &
ready to give much Security as your
Honours shall require.

And your Petitioner (in a Duty bound) shall
ever pray.

Warren Hastings.

The Early Life of Warren Hastings.

ONE of the most interesting chapters in Sir William Foster's new book "John Company" (which we review elsewhere) is the thirteenth in which he corrects in the most authoritative manner some of the grosser errors that have obtained currency with regard to the early life of Warren Hastings. In justice, however, to Gleig, his biographer, who is largely responsible for them, it must be said that he worked under difficulties. It was not until 1835 that the materials were placed in his hands, after Southey and Archibald Elijah Impey, the barrister son of the Chief Justice, had each given up the task. Hastings himself had been dead for seventeen years and Gleig was left to make the most of such secondary evidence as he could obtain from a confused mass of papers.

"But both Gleig and his successors might have avoided many pitfalls if they had not overlooked the rough draft of an autobiographical fragment which is among the documents bequeathed by Miss Marian Winter the grand-niece of Mrs. Hastings (1), to the British Museum (Addl. MSS. No. 39, 903, f. 19). To Sir William Foster is due the credit of discovering this paper, which he quotes in full: and as this is the first occasion upon which it has been made public, he will forgive us if we reproduce it (2):

I was born at Churchill in Oxfordshire, in the latter end of December, in the year 1732. [My mother, whose maiden name was Warren, died in childbed, and my father left me when I was about nine months old, to take possession of a living in Barbadoes, where he died about twelve years after. From his departure my uncle took charge of myself and my sister.] The first seven or eight years of my life were spent at that place and at Dailsford, where my grandfather held a living. At five I had the small-pox. In the year 1740 I was carried to town and after a short stay with my uncle was sent to a school at Newington Butts: the master's name Pardoe. Stayed there about two years. In the year 1842 I left that school and went to Westminster, and after five years' stay was elected into the Colledge (3) in the year 1749 at Whitsontide left Westminster on account of my uncle's death [patronized by Mr. Creswicke] and

(1) Miss Marian Winter died at Nether Worton House, Steeple Aston, Oxfordshire, on March 31, 1919, in her eighty-first year. She was the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Winter, Rector of Daylesford, and Marian Chapusettin, whose father "Baron" Chapuset, was a brother of Mrs. Hastings, who acted as companion to her aunt after the death of Hastings.

(2) The square brackets indicate two passages which were subsequently inserted by Hastings.

(3) The School registers show that he was admitted to Westminster in May, 1743, and elected a King's Scholar on May 27, 1747 (Foster).

boarded with Mons. Desprez till December. Spent the Christmass with Mrs. Creswicke. In January, 1750, in the 18 year of my age, left England in the *London*. Arrived in Calcutta in the month of October.

Whether Gleig was shown this fragment or not, we do not know. He tells us merely that "even in conversation" Hastings "appeared reluctant to enter upon the subject" of his early years, "and when questioned his answers were always general." Sir Charles Lawson (4), on the other hand, says that Hastings commenced his autobiography in his old age, "but wearied of the task after filling four pages." This document was found among his papers after his death "and shown to Lawson by Miss Winter, to whom Calcutta owes the unique collection of Hastings' relics which are now in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

But it is clear from the short quotation which Sir Charles Lawson gives, that the paper is altogether different from the one which Sir William Foster has discovered and which escaped the vigilance of later enquirers such as "Sydney C. Grier" and Mr. G. W. Hastings (5).

The value of the present discovery is undeniable. We learn for the first time of the fate of his father, whose desertion of his children may be condemned but who was certainly not the "idle, worthless boy" of Macaulay's essay. Gleig, whom Macaulay followed, would have us believe that Penyston Hastings "could not have been more than fifteen years old" when he married Hester Warren the daughter of Mr. Warren of Stubhill, near Twiring, in Gloucestershire, in 1730. Now Penyston Hastings, as a matter of fact, was born at Comwell in Gloucestershire in 1704, and was therefore twenty-eight years old at the time of his son's birth in 1732. As to the cause of his emigration to Barbadoes, we obtain a clue from a letter published in *The Times Literary Supplement* for October 7, 1926. Mr. E. St. John Brooks, the writer, draws attention to a communication made by him in 1925 to *Notes and Queries* (Vol. cxlviii, p. 242) wherein he states that he has found in the Bodleian Library among the Oxfordshire collections of Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester (MSS. Top. Oxon. c. 165—167) the following entry of a marriage from the Bicester parish registers: "July 18, 1733, the Rev. Mr. Penyston Hastings, of Bledington, co. Glos., and Mary Dandridge, of Holywell, Oxford." Mr. Brooks adds that, according to certain wills in the Archdeaconry of Oxford, which are preserved at Somerset House, the Dandridges would appear to have been small Oxford tradesmen. Gleig (whose accuracy is again at fault) has it that the second wife was "the daughter of a butcher," and that the marriage took place in the city of Gloucester. That there were children, born presumably in Barbadoes, is shown (6) by a letter received by Hastings in 1813 from Julia Ancwright of Chester, who claims that her mother Ellen

(4) *The Private Life of Warren Hastings* (2nd edition, 1905), p. 30.

(5) Both documents are among the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum.

(6) Sydney C. Grier, *Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife* (1905), p. 447.

Hastings, wife of "a person of the name of Dennis of Sproxton" is his sister, and asks for help to establish herself in business.

The grandfather of Warren Hastings was also named Penyston Hastings, and was presented in 1701 to the rectory of Daylesford by his father (likewise named Penyston, and not Samuel, as stated by Gleig) who was compelled by financial difficulties to sell the manor in 1715 to Jacob Knight, a London merchant (7). Penyston the second embarrassed himself still further by litigation over the tithes and (while retaining the benefice) removed to the neighbouring village of Churchill in Oxfordshire. Here Penyston the third seems to have acted as curate to his father, for he is described as "the Rev. Mr. Penniston Hastings" in the baptismal entry of his son Warren.

Another misconception, which we owe to Gleig, is that Warren Hastings' parents "began to experience the extremity of remorse and destitution." It may be granted that the resources of a curate were not likely to be large: but the house in which the future Governor-General was born, may still be seen in the village of Churchill. It is a substantially built and well-situated structure: and bears a memorial tablet which was placed upon it by Earl Ducie, of Sarsden House (8).

We now come to the events which led Hastings to India. His uncle Howard Hastings, by whom he was "carried to town in 1740," and who had a post in the custom house, died in 1748. The boy, says Gleig, was left to the care of "a Mr. Chiswick, on whom he had by relationship slender claims and who does not seem to have overrated their importance." The robust imagination of Macaulay enables him to improve upon this assertion by declaring that "Mr. Chiswick" came rapidly to the conclusion that "the years which had already been wasted on hexameters and pentameters" at Westminster were "quite sufficient."

He had it in his power to obtain for the lad a writership in the service of the East India Company. Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to anybody.

The researches of "Sydney Grier" among the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum have established that this "Mr. Chiswick" was a purely mythical person. The executor of Howard Hastings' will was, however, a certain Joseph Creswicke. Sir William Foster has ascertained from the Court Minutes that Joseph and John Creswicke became securities for Warren upon his appointment to a writership, and that they are described as "both of the Custom house, London, gentlemen." Mr. Brooks, in the letter already

(7) Warren Hastings repurchased the estate in 1797 for £11,424, and an annuity of £100 for Mr. Knight and his wife. The present owner is Mr. C. E. Baring Young.

(8) A room at Sarsden House, which is in the Parish of Churchill, is known as the Hastings Room, and contains a complete collection of all the engravings of his portraits. Among them is an engraving by William Nutter of a portrait by R. Fulton, published on May 15, 1801. Fulton was an American, who exhibited at the Royal Academy, and invented an early type of submarine vessel. There is mention of him in the Farington Diary. The Victoria Memorial Hall collection has no copy of the engraving, and the whereabouts of the picture are unknown.

mentioned, carries us a step further. John and Joseph were the sons of Henry Creswicke of Moreton-in-the Marsh (9) who died in 1731: and their aunt Elizabeth Creswicke became the wife of Penyston Hastings the first, her jointure being "the moiety of the estate at Dailesford." The two Creswicks who acted as sureties, were therefore first cousins to Warren Hastings' grandfather, Penyston Hastings the second: with this information before us, the choice of Joseph as the boy's guardian becomes at once intelligible. Warren Hastings mentions that he spent his last Christmas in England with "Mrs. Creswicke" (10) and it was in her honour that he gave the name of Elizabeth to the child who was "carried off by sudden Fits of sickness on the 23rd day after her Birth and is buried with her mother in the old Residency cemetery at Cossimbazar (11).

Sir William Foster has been unable to discover the name of the Director who actually nominated Hastings. It was certainly not Joseph Creswicke, for he was first elected to a seat on the Board in 1765 and held office until 1768. And yet Hastings himself misleads us on this point, as we can see from the fragment of autobiography. He repeats the statement in a letter written in 1797 to George Nesbit Thompson which is quoted by Sir William Foster and which was published for the first time in 1920 in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XX, pp. 19-21). While refuting the charge which Gleig and Macaulay were to bring against Creswicke, and making it clear that the idea of an Indian career originated entirely with himself, he says: "Mr. Creswicke who was a Director of the East India Company, gave me his appointment of a writer at my request, so suddenly made that it was proposed and passed almost instantaneously, all the other nominations having been previously made."

The petition of Hastings, which we reproduce in facsimile (12), bears no date. But we have it from Gleig that it was written on November 14, 1749, which is the date of the accompanying certificate of Mr. Smith, "the teacher of writing and accounts at Christ's Hospital," and the certificate of baptism is dated two days earlier. The documents were certainly delivered at the eleventh hour, for Sir William Foster tells us that it was one of thirty petitions which were laid before the Court of Directors on November 15, and referred as usual to the Committee of Correspondence. The report of that body was read to the Court a fortnight later—on November 29—and fifteen of the petitioners, including Hastings, were thereupon chosen by ballot. The

(9) Mr. Brooks adds that Henry Creswicke, the son of Joseph Creswicke, who was also of the Custom House and died in 1773, was the great-grandfather of Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, the famous Assyriologist, whose son Lord Rawlinson, the late Commander-in-chief in India, presented a copy of his portrait by Frank Holl to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

(10) The house of Joseph Creswicke appears to have been in Stretham (Foster, quoting G. W. Hastings' *Vindication of Warren Hastings*, p. 196 n.)

(11) There were two children of Hastings' first marriage with Mary Buchanan, the widow of Captain John Buchanan, one of the victims of the Black Hole: George, born Dec. 1, 1757, baptized June 19, 1759, died in England in 1764: and Elizabeth born October 5 and died October 28, 1758. Mr. Hastings died on July 11, 1759.

(12) Acknowledgment is due to Messrs. John Lane for their courteous loan of the block.

ordinary procedure was, in fact, followed. Neither the election nor the decision to apply were "instantaneous," for it is common ground with all the biographers of Hastings (and confirmed by himself in the fragment discovered by Sir William Foster) that he was removed from Westminster school at Whitsuntide, 1749, and sent to Christ's Hospital for a "course of merchants' accounts."

There was no delay, however, about his despatch to the East. His securities, were approved on December 8: and he sailed in the *London* from Gravesend on January 27, 1750. Fort Saint David on the Coromandel coast was reached on August 27, and Fort Saint George on September 8. The anchor was dropped at Culpee in the river Hooghly on October 9: and the Captain and passengers made their way up to Fort William in the usual manner by country boat.

H. E. A. C.

More about Mrs. Fay.

THE issue, two years ago, of Mr. E. M. Forster's excellent edition of Mrs. Eliza Fay's *Original Letters from India* has revived interest in that intrepid but unfortunate lady; and so a few fresh particulars of her career—found mostly during a search for another purpose of the files of old Indian newspapers—may not be unwelcome. I omit such references as occur to incidents already sufficiently described in the *Letters*, and begin with some extracts that throw new light upon her second stay in Calcutta (1784-94).

It is unnecessary to notice most of her business advertisements during the period 1786-90, except to record in passing that her address is given as Post Office Street (1). From November, 1787 to February, 1788 we come across advertisements of a lottery she had arranged, evidently as a means of disposing of her surplus stock of millinery and haberdashery and of thus relieving her from the monetary embarrassments which (as we know from the *Letters*) drove her in 1788 to lodge her affairs for a time in the hands of trustees. There were to be three hundred tickets (including a large proportion of blanks) and the price of each was fixed at one hundred sicca rupees. To lottery, after three postponements (evidently due to a desire to sell as many tickets as possible) took place on 11 February, 1788; and in advertising this fact (*Calcutta Chronicle*, 28 February) Mrs. Fay added that she still had a small stock of caps, which would be disposed of at very reduced prices to enable her to fulfil her engagements. There is then a gap until 9 May, 1793, when Mrs. Fay announced (*Calcutta Gazette*) that her lottery for her house would take place on 20 June. Apparently she was energetically beating up her friends, for she postponed the drawing, first till 11 July, and then till the 16th. On 26 September a fresh advertisement notified that she would sell her remaining stock at reduced prices until the end of the year, when the concern would be closed, in view of her impending return to Europe. The same newspaper announced (27 February, 1794) the sale by auction on 10 March of her effects and stock in trade; and we know that on 25 March she embarked in an American ship for Ostend.

We come now to a further visit to India hitherto unknown, for, as the reader is aware, Mrs. Fay's own chronicle ends with her arrival at New York in September, 1797. We pick up the threads again in April, 1804, when an entry in the Court Minutes of the East India Company records the grant of permission to the indefatigable lady to return to Bengal 'to settle her affairs.' It was necessary for her to find two sureties in two hundred pounds that she would not become chargeable to the Company; and on

(1) This was the house (formerly the post office) which she had purchased on her arrival in 1784; it stood at the corner of Hastings Street and Church Lane (*Cotton's Old and New Calcutta*, p. 133).

30 May the requisite bond was signed by Thomas Wilkinson Preston, of Shad Thames, shipwright (who, as we know from another source, was her brother-in-law), and by John Cookson, of Bishopsgate Street, haberdasher. She sailed in the *Mangles*, which left England in the middle of August, 1804 and reached Calcutta on 24 January following. That she tried her hand once again at the millinery business seems unlikely, in the absence of the usual advertisements; and our next glimpse of her shows her on an entirely new tack. In the *Letters* (p. 238) she tells us that, soon after her arrival on her second visit (1784), a proposal was made to her 'to engage in a seminary for young ladies'; and she seems now to have come out mainly for the purpose of recruiting pupils for a school which she proposed to start at Blackheath for Anglo-Indian boys and girls. The scheme is set forth in the following advertisements (all to be found in the columns of the *Calcutta Gazette*), and the reader will not fail to notice their characteristic phrasing:

15 August, 1805.

'Mrs. Fay takes the liberty of again submitting her proposals to the inspection of the settlement, some months having elapsed since their first publication.

She is prepared to take immediate charge of such children as may be committed to her care; and will, if required, procure necessaries for the voyage and accommodation with herself to England, where she intends to open a school at Blackheath, for the instruction of young ladies and gentlemen; the latter to be removed from Mrs. Fay's house at the age of nine years; but they may nevertheless remain under her guardianship and inspection, if desired. Mrs. Fay proposes to provide for the instruction of her pupils in English, French, and Italian (grammatically), Music, Dancing, Writing and Needlework, at the rate of sixty guineas per annum, genteel clothing included. After ten years of age, the terms of course will be proportionably increased. It is not meant to adopt the customary vacations, by which nine months in twelve are lost to the pupil. The children in Mrs. Fay's School will, however, have her constant attention, except where parents or guardians shall be pleased to direct otherwise.

Mrs. Fay trusts that her long residence in India may give her some claim to the notice and patronage of the public, whose countenance she will endeavour to repay by a faithful and sedulous discharge of the numerous duties imposed on her by her present undertaking. Being aware that any delay in this country beyond what is absolutely necessary might essentially retard the execution of her original plan, Mrs. Fay is determined to make arrangements for returning to Europe by the first fleet of the season; and therefore intreats that such parents or guardians as shall think proper to intrust children to her care will have the goodness to signify their intentions as early as possible, that she may be enabled to ascertain for what number it will be requisite to secure accommodations. Mrs. Fay begs leave also to observe, for the satisfaction of her friends, that in the event of accident to her, by death or otherwise, during the passage, the children committed to

her charge will, on their arrival, be placed under the protection of her sister, who resides in London, until the pleasure of their parents or guardians shall be known.

Further particulars of her plan may be known on applications to Messrs. Colvins, Bazett & Co., Messrs. Fairlie, Gilmore & Co., Messrs. Trail, Palmer & Co., Messrs. Alexander & Co., or to Mrs. Fay, No. 4, Dacre's Lane.'

17 October, 1805.

'Mrs. Fay requests permission to inform her friends and the public that, in consequence of the *Ceylon* being ordered to Bombay, her agreement with Capt. Hudson for a passage to Europe becomes void. She has, therefore, procured similar accommodation on the H. C. Regular ship *Devonshire*, Captain Murray, now under orders to proceed with the *Charlton* to Madras in December next, and from thence to England. Mrs. Fay trusts that the above arrangements will be approved by those who have already honored her with their confidence; and as it presents the hope of as speedy a passage home as can be obtained on any of the regular ships of the season and, she presumes to add, with superior comforts and advantages to children, she flatters herself that parents and guardians in general will be induced to afford their support and patronage in aid of her plan, should it, on due consideration, be found worthy of encouragement.'

28 November, 1805.

'Mrs. Fay begs leave to inform her friends and the public that, as the *Devonshire* is appointed to sail on the 15th December, and will in all probability be dispatched before the end of the month, she is fearful of not obtaining a sufficient number of pupils by that time to cover the very heavy expenses of her voyage. She will, therefore, be happy to receive a few children for the passage only, who shall be placed in every respect on a footing with those who are to remain under her charge at home. The strictest attention will be paid to their baggage, etc., and on their arrival in London Mrs. Fay will either deliver them immediately to their friends or keep them in her own house until orders shall be received respecting their disposal. Her terms, she trusts, considering the advantages offered, will not be deemed unreasonable. She intreats that those who may be inclined to favor her plan will oblige her with early notice of their intention.'

The sequel is supplied by the following entry in the log of the *Devonshire*, under date of 23 December, 1805: 'Came on board Mrs. Fay and fourteen children, passengers.' The ship, it may be added, reached the Thames towards the end of July, 1806. That the school was duly started appears from an advertisement of it in the *Calcutta Gazette* for 28 April, 1808, presumably sent out from England about the end of the previous year. Its address is given as Ashburnham House, Blackheath—a district which was then considered a particularly healthy and genteel suburb of London. Mr. Simpson, the Town Clerk of Greenwich, has kindly informed me that Ashburnham House was situated at the rear of the Grove,

Blackheath, and was demolished some years ago. He added that, according to the rate books, Mrs. Fay was in occupation of it from 1806 to 1814. We may note that the last letter in her book is also dated from Blackheath (in 1815). From that point Mr. Forster takes up the tale and continues it until her death at Calcutta in 1816.

Two points remain to be noticed. The first is that of Mrs. Fay's maiden name. Hitherto all that we have known was that her father was a Mr. C. . The new evidence may help to solve the problem. It will be seen that one of the sureties provided by her in 1804 was named Cookson, and that he was a haberdasher by trade. Remembering Eliza's choice of the same business as a means of livelihood when she found herself stranded in Calcutta, we may reasonably conclude that this was either her father or her brother; and if so, we at last have the missing name. The second point is the origin of the drawing by Devis that forms the frontispiece to Mrs. Fay's volume. As Mr. Forster points out, she is represented in the Egyptian costume she wore in Cairo, and 'so one would assume that the portrait was made shortly after her arrival in Calcutta, i.e. about 1780, while she still had money, friends, youth, and interest in her escapade; but her editor goes on to say that this theory will not hold, because Devis did not reach India until 1785, by which time 'it seems unlikely that she should retain either her Egyptian clothes or her enthusiasm about them.' May I suggest a solution of the mystery? A favourite Calcutta amusement was the public fancy dress ball or masquerade; and both Devis and Mrs. Fay were young to enjoy such diversions. Is it not possible that both attended one of these functions; that Mrs. Fay appeared in a costume recalling her celebrated journey; and that the artist made a little sketch, with suitable accessories, and presented it to her? She would naturally preserve such a memento, and her subsequent use of it to illustrate her book would be an obvious outcome.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

General De Boigne and the Taj.

THIS correspondence "which speaks for itself" between Sir John Murray and General De Boigne has to our knowledge not been printed before in its entirety. Mr. Herbert Compton in his "European Military Adventures of Hindustan" (Fisher Unwin, 1892) quotes portions only of the letters on pp. 81-85, but there are certain mistakes in his version such as "positively" for "posterity" and the "Cowrie Father" for the "Cowree Fakeer". The opening letter to Dundas he does not give: but the final letter from Mr. De Boigne, dated Koil 12th March 1795, which is later than the communication to Dundas is to be found in his book and we take the liberty of reproducing it. Colonel Sir John Murray was Commissary General at Calcutta and then Military Auditor General. He is spoken of by Thomas Twining (*Travels in India A Hundred Years Ago*) as "Sir John Murray, one of my best Calcutta friends, and brother to Colonel Peter Murray, an agreeable gentlemanly man, Adjutant General of the Company's troops" (p. 91). Peter Murray, whom Twining met in 1794 when he was travelling up the river to Delhi on the Staff of Sir Robert Abercromby, the Commander-in-Chief, was killed in August 1803 on board the "Lord Nelson" in a fight with a French privateer. His full name was Peter Macgregor Murray and he had a long career in the Company's service which he entered as a Cadet in 1771. Hickey in the fourth volume of his *Memoirs* (p. 271) gives an account of the capture of the ship. "When within a few days' sail of the British Channel, they were attacked by a powerful French privateer, and after a gallant resistance, in which her Commander, Captain Spottiswoode, his brother, who had been in the Medical Line in Bengal, Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Murray, and some other passengers of inferior rank, were slain, was obliged to strike to the enemy. During the battle Miss Mary Lloyd (niece of Lady Russell) conducted herself like a perfect heroine... The "Lord Nelson," after being a few days in the possession of the enemy, who steered for a French port and had just made the coast of France, very fortunately fell in with a British vessel of war who retook her and conducted her safely to an English harbour."

The younger brother Robert was a Cadet in 1778 and a Captain in 1797, and is not to be traced further. But we believe him to be the same person who when a Lieutenant was Quarter Master at Midnapore. None of these Murrays are mentioned in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (1906) and indeed a long article could be written on the Murrays in India. The only person of that name commemorated in the D. N. B. who is in any way connected with India is Lieutenant Colonel Sir John Murray (1768-1827), eighth baronet of Clermont, Fifeshire, who was in 1799 British Commissioner in the Red Sea and Commander at Perim (see a letter by

the Rev. G. Badger in the *Times* for 31 May 1858). He was afterwards Quarter Master General of the Indian Army proceeding to Egypt under Sir David Baird and on return to India commanded the Bombay Division under Wellesley and fought in Guzerat and Malwa, where he occupied Holkar's capital in 1804. From 1811 to 1818 he was M. P. for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis and fought in Sicily under Lord William Bentinck in 1812. But in 1813 he signally failed to recapture Tarragona in Spain and was court-martialled under instructions from Wellington. He was acquitted and subsequently became G. C. H. and a full General. Hickey mentions him and Sir Home Popham of the Navy as present at an "uncommonly full" meeting of old Westminsters at his house in Calcutta on Feb. 7th, 1803.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIR JOHN MURRAY AND MR. DE BOIGNE IN 1794 RELATIVE
TO THE TAJ AT AGRA AND THE SITUATION OF SHAH ALLUM AT DELHI.

Sir John Murray to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

Calcutta, December 29, 1794.

Dear Sir,

The enclosed correspondence will speak for itself. I have not yet received an answer to the last letter in it. The Extract of the Journal is from a communication that was made to me from Delhi, by a gentleman who visited that place with an acquaintance of yours. If I had talents equal to my zeal in this cause of humanity, I would give sensibility to the most torpid mind in pleading it. I am aware of the expediency of keeping the power of the representative of Timur within moderate limits, but I cannot discern any more wisdom, than honesty in the Company's flagrant and bare-faced breaches of faith with Shah Allum. I can neither approve the policy of holding up any of his upstart subjects in great splendour, & sovereign authority whilst we deny ordinary justice to the acknowledged Head of the Empire, who is fallen too low to be the object of any jealousy; nor of allowing others, with a foresight of the mischief, to become dangerous to ourselves, on his total ruin. If there be any overgrown state in India, it must be unsafe for us. We should endeavour to poise the Mussalman and Hindoo powers by each other; and if the discharge of solemn moral obligations be most consonant with sound policy, as I believe to be true in most cases, & certainly in the present one, would it not be wise to attach to the advantage, the credit that would result from such a Line of conduct? If I had access to our Sovereign & were satisfied with the propriety of my addressing him on the affecting subject, I should hope to interest him in favour of the much abused family of Delhi. His heart is

too benevolent not to commiserate their misfortunes and his mind too enlarged not to perceive the policy of relieving them. The mediation of the representative Government here, would produce all the effect necessary. His Majesty's Gracious fiat would, at once, restore from the most lamentable distress, to ease & comfort, a Royal family, that has been unjustly & ungratefully treated by his subjects; & by removing the stain they have brought on the national character, he would give new lustre to the British name and additional strength and permanence to his Empire in India.

It should be the greatest happiness of official men, who are near the King, to be instrumental in doing good; & the opinion I have of your inclinations to follow this course must be my apology for this intrusion. Little does the venerable old Shah know that he has even any such Advocate whose fault it is not, that he is not more able to alleviate his miseries.

In doing this much, however, I have gratified myself & I hope without offending you.

I have the honor to be &c. &c.

JOHN MURRAY.

Right Hon. Hen: Dundas &c. &c. &c.

Sir John Murray to General De Boigne.

[22nd Jany. 1794.]

Sir,

Though I have not the pleasure of being acquainted with you, the Character you bear is not unknown to me, and you owe to it the trouble of this Letter. Having visited Agrei (sic) some years ago, I was delighted with the beauties of the Mausolium called the Tage, but the gratification I received was not unmixed with some alloy, for I had the Mortification to observe that, that Masterpiece of elegant Taste and exquisite Workmanship, was much neglected and I was so desirous that it should be preserved for admiration in future Ages that I took the liberty of writing to the Gentleman who was then Governor-General, soliciting him to request Scindia to give Orders for taking the greatest care of it and to make a sufficient allowance for the purpose of keeping it constantly in good order, but I have since then repeatedly heard that this Monument of Eastern Magnificence, and refinement is likely to fall soon into irrecoverable decay, unless measures be taken without loss of time to prevent it.

I look to you, who from your present situation have in your Power the means of conferring an obligation on Mankind by the preservation of this wonderful work, as the properest Person to whom I can apply, and I trust that I am not mistaken in the Opinion, which I have formed of your

mind when I promise myself the pleasure of hearing that you will be glad to acquire the Credit that would result from your early attention to the subject of this Address.

I am, Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN MURRAY.

Calcutta 22nd Jany. 1794.

Mr. De Boigne &c. &c.

General De Boigne to Colonel John Murray.

[26 February 1794.]

Sir,

I have been honored with your kind favor of date 22 Ultro. forwarded to me by your Brother the Licut. which has given me much pleasure in finding myself noticed by you, and thought capable of effecting the liberal Views and honorable wishes you have in the preservation of the Taje, views wholly worthy of the exalted Rank & Station you occupy, and having its origin in your greatness of Mind and knowledge of that liberal art of Architecture. Without pretending to be thought a connoissure in the beauties of that Mausolium, and less to have preceded you in the same reflection in regard of that Monument, I shall avow having some time ago, twice or thrice spoke to Mahangee Scindia on that Subject, from which Conversation, as far as I can recollect, he did appear to value more the richness of the materials than the Workmanship of its construction without, to appearances, much regretting its decay, and less in thinking of the Steps necessary for its longer preservation; yet I am informed of some allowance being made as well to the few Majavers or Priests about it as to keep the building, and the Garden in repair; but the avarice and Parsimony of the Hindoo Cast in general, and the Mahrattas in particular as also their abhorrence to all that is Mahometan will for ever impede the application of the allowance to its real purpose—however, proud to follow your Example and to execute your Commands I shall certainly use my best endeavours and take advantage of the little influence I have with the Prince to have the allowances already made applied to the repairs of it and if possible to have something more added to it, if the former are thought insufficient; and if I should be so fortunate as to be able to open the Eyes and Mind of Scindiah, I shall for ever entertain the greatest apprehension of its never being attended with the desired effect. Was even Scindiah endowed with those noble principles you possess and which guides your actions in this desire of yours yet the Pundits who have the Management of all Business at this Court, will never put aside their old way of embezzling the half of what is to pass by their hands, which is so familiar in every transaction that it is not thought so much as to deserve taking notice of it.

If I am so happy as to meet with success in my exertions to execute your Commands the honor shall be yours, and posterity to you alone shall be indebted for the pleasure they shall enjoy in their admiration of that superb Monument, if otherwise and that the decay of it cannot be much retarded you shall have the self satisfaction of having wished and done your utmost for its preservation, and I at your request to have followed your Steps in that noble Career.

Requesting the favor to be at all times honored with your Commands and with a place in your acquaintance permit me to be with unfeigned regard.

Sir,

Your most Obedient and

Very humble Servant

(Signed) BT DE BOIGNE.

26 February 1794.

Madhojee Scindiah died at Wanowlee near Poona on February 12, 1794, aged 64, the greatest prince with the exception of Sivajee that the Mahratta nation has ever produced. As De Boigne's letter is dated the 26th of that month, it would appear that the news of his death had not by that time reached the General. "Never did any European gain from a native prince such confidence and esteem as De Boigne won from Madhojee, who frequently remarked that though he owed his being and heritage to his father, it was De Boigne who taught him to enjoy the one and make use of the other." (Compton).

Sir John Murray to General De Boigne.

Calcutta 10th Octr. 1794.

Sir,

I was duely favored with your Letter of the 26 February and I would have thanked you for it long ere this time, if I had not conceived that the Circumstance of Madajee Scindias' death must have engaged you in so much public Business that it would have been inconvenient, for you to attend to private Correspondence, but as I take for granted that the new arrangements are now completed I venture to trouble you with my acknowledgments for the handsome manner in which you showed your Willingness to comply with the request which I took the liberty to make to you.

I am gratified in two ways first in finding that your mind is such as I supposed it to be and secondly by the pleasing expectation that thro' your means the most elegant Monument of Eastern Architecture will be preserved for the admiration of successive Generations. You would greatly

promote this object by committing the repairs and Charge of it to some Confidential Person responsible to yourself under written Instructions. The Rules to be observed by all Visitors ought to be posted up in convenient and conspicuous places, and in the several languages most generally used by the Visitors; prohibiting in the strictest terms any damage from being done to any part of the Buildings. No Persons whatever excepting the Keepers ought to be indulged with leave to reside in any of the appartments within the interior Court,—persons of the lower orders of the people should only be permitted to visit it in certain Numbers at a time; and no Visitors whatever ought to have liberty to go in unaccompanied by some of the Keepers; who should make immediate Report to the principal Person in Charge of the Tage of any damage or mischief done by any of the Visitors who should be declared to be answerable for it Avarice cannot yet have contracted the youthful mind of your new Chief, and I trust it will not be difficult for you to induce him to grant a suitable allowance for this commendable purpose on the score of his conciliating the Musselmans in the districts which he has in Charge for the King. The bare mention of this unfortunate Monarch cannot be separated from reflections on his situation which as it gives pain to all that hear of it must have been extremely distressing to you who may be said to be an Eye-Witness of his Miseries and as you have had the Goodness to excuse my troubling you relative to the preservation of the magnificent Mausolium of one of his Predecessors on account of the elegant Taste and exquisite Workmanship displayed in it, suffer me to intreat the exercise of your humanity towards himself.

I shall not attempt to address myself to the passions—for indeed the ideas which I have formed on my own Observations and on the later information of others lead me to conceive that the most copious language is too barren to afford terms adequately descriptive of the Miseries of the Royal Family of Delhi. I have only to beg of you to contemplate it; to revolve the whole subject in your mind and I shall be sure that your own feelings will urge you more powerfully and successfully than all the eloquence in the world could to use your pious endeavours at least to mitigate the sufferings of this too low fallen and illused Family. Mitigate do I say, read but the enclosed Extract of information from a Friend of yours, who not long ago witnessed the affecting scene which he would have described if he could have found words. Your mind will be filled with tenderness towards, the unhappy King in his wretchedness, with indignation at the conduct of the infamous Nizam uldein, nor can his Employers if you conceive they connive at it, escape your detestation and the result will be that you will entitle yourselves to the applauses of all good Men, and to honorable mention in the Page of History by taking effectual measures not only to alleviate these afflicting distresses but to give ease and solid comfort to the venerable King, and to the remnants of his Family. I almost envy you the Credit you may acquire by doing so much good as I conceive is in your power. In meriting the praises of the world you would also promote essentially the honor and advantage of your Chief.

I hear you are meditating between the Marattahs and the Northern Rajahs and there is wisdom and fidelity in the measure. It is impossible that there should not one day be a quarrel between the Court of Poonah and your Chief,—and it is, therefore, much more politic to conciliate than to Crush the Northern Rajahs, who if well treated might in time of need be useful auxiliaries against his Western Neighbours. I beg to know if I can be of any use to you in this quarter and I have the honor to be,

Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

JOHN MURRAY.

A Monsr

Monsr De Boigne

&c &c &c

'Extract from a Gentleman's Journal at Delhi'.

Sindeeau sets Chau Nezam ool Deen over the Badshaw as the greatest scoundrel they could find; he does not give a farthing of money to the Badshaw nor any of his People, affecting to console the Poor Old King, that it is all the better for him as no temptation can remain for another Golam Cawder to seize upon him for the sake of Plunder. Regularly every day he furnishes the Old King with 2 Seirs of Pallaw and 8 Seirs of Meat for him to get cooked as he likes. This with two Loaves of bread about the length each of a Cubit is to suffice for breakfast dinner and Supper; and he may get Mussalah where he can. This however tho' it is to serve 5 Persons and the Poor Servants who can pick a bit afterwards is living in Clover in comparison with the rest of the Royal Household.

They Poor creatures without distinction Princes and Princesses, nay Queens and all, Eunuchs, and Female Slaves have exactly delivered out to them to bake into Cake 2 Seers a day of Barley Flour, every three of them which they are to take for themselves and are thus afforded $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of a Seer of Food a day. For Liquor from the King to the Turnspit, they have nothing but Water. The King's Quincuntial Party at dinner every day is made up of himself and his Doctor, his son and Heir, and a little favourite Daughter, and the Mighty Boon of being one at this fine extra fare is fairly allotted to his 200 Begums one after another in turn. So that of the Poor Queens each has a Prospect of getting what to them after their usual miserable fare must be a high-Treat indeed, a good dinner and a half, a Year. I asked if the old Gentleman would not wish to regale himself with Beef now and then? Yes he longs for it but where is he to get it. The Servants often apply in great misery to the unfeeling Father for a little Wages, when after having been 3 or 4 Months without a farthing he

will perhaps only bestow on one 3 or 4 Annas; on another perhaps as much as 8. The old Nizam sent the King 2 Years ago 6000 Gold Mohurs. They every farthing got into Sha Cowree Fakees* hands and remained there.

(The Unfeeling Father referred to is Nizam ool Deen and the old Nizam is the ruler of Hyderabad. Mussalah is of course spices and condiments: and under this word Hobson-Jobson quotes the tradition of a very gallant Governor-General that he had found it very tolerable, on a sharp but brief campaign, to "rough it on chuprassies and mussaulchees", meaning chupatties and mussalla. The quotation about the Cowree Fakeer has not found its way into Yule and Burnell's entertaining volume but there is a capital quotation in it from The Boscawen's Voyage to Bombay by Philaethes (1750, p. 52): "the only trade they deal in is Cowries (or Blackamoor's teeth as they call them in England), the King's Sole Property, which the sea throws up in great abundance." The cowry or shell was the lowest form of currency in India, and as such thrown to beggars. Hickey's Bengal Gazette for April 29, 1780 announces: "We are informed that a copper coinage is now on the carpet; it will be of the greatest utility to the Public, and will totally abolish the trade of cowries, which for a long time has formed so extensive a field for deception and fraud; a grievance (sic) the poor has long groaned under.")

General De Boigne to Sir John Murray.

Koil, the 12th of March 1795.

"Dear Sir,

I can't but with propriety begin by making you strong and warm apologies for my having been so long in acknowledging your kind favour last received in its due time, and delivered to me by Lieutenant Robert Murray. Be pleased to believe, my dear sir, that the cause don't come from any neglect or forgetfulness. Too proud in the honour of your remembrance and correspondence, I have had so bad a state of health for these six months, that with the greatest difficulties have I been able to attend in part to the duties of my station, which, indeed, are too great to leave me a moment's quietness of mind or body. On that account, and confiding in your kindness and liberality, I have some hope that you'll be pleased to forgive me.

In regard to your observations of the King Shah Allum and family's situation, they are but too right. However, not quite so bad as by the paper you have been pleased to send me, the author having somewhat exaggerated or been misinformed. Could the old man know the interest you take in his misfortunes, which are great indeed, he could not but admire

* A Nickname given to Sha Nizam ul deen who was a dirvesh, or Beggar to whom Cowries or small Shells. are given in Alms.

the goodness and sensibility of your heart, which is above all praise; and myself, as if informed with your liberal intentions, feel as you do for the unfortunate. I have been for near these two years past endeavouring to alleviate the miseries of that family, and have been perhaps rather troublesome to the late Madhajee Scindia in that respect. I will not disguise that the principal motives of my exertions were not so pure as yours, they being rather intended to the reputation of the prince, my master, and perhaps my own, knowing that the king's miseries could not but tarnish it in the eyes of the world. He always promised me that at his return in Indostan he would certainly attend to my application in ameliorating his situation, and had he lived no doubt something would have been done. After his death I have continued my importunities to the young prince, which has occasioned, as you may have heard, some advances to the Soubahdar of Delhy, Shawjee, that Fakir having been obliged to pay lately 150,000 rupees, which the Mahratta chiefs have taken from him without the king's benefitting by it, except about 25,000 in nuzzars and goods presented to him. At the same time it has been settled that the former, or present allowance of the king, should be increased by 5,000 rupees a month. A few villages have been ceded in Jaghir to some of the Begums and Princesses, and I have put myself Mirza Akber Shah's eldest son in possession of a province called Kotte Kassim, producing about 30,000 rupees per annum, which he held also in Jaghir before the late troubles in Indostan. All this, which is not much, has been done now, and not, I assure you, without my encountering the greatest difficulties, the present government and the Mahratta chiefs having not the smallest intention or wish to ameliorate the situation of that poor old man; and it may be said the little already done to have been done entirely by deference to him than to the King which brings us to say, O! Tempora! O! Mores! The province in Shawjee's possession intended for the support of the royal family may produce about seven lakhs per annum. Should that sum be employed to that purpose, it would be quite, if not above, sufficient. But Shawjee, as a Fakir, takes the greatest part of it for himself, and a great deal must be given to the Mahratta chiefs, to be supported and continued in his office. Who is not acquainted perfectly with the Mahratta character—particularly the Pundits—can have no idea of their avarice and insensibility and bad faith. It may be said they have all the vices known, without any of the virtues, which gives reason to suppose that the Empire is soon to fall. Being forced, against my wish, to enter into all the details of government since the death of Madhajee Shah, I have the opportunity to know them better than I have been able to learn in ten years before.

Being so far advanced in your wishes and good intentions in regard of that miserable family, I shall continue to employ my best exertions, and the little influence I have in the Government, to do what may put them out of physical want, and which 50,000 rupees a month will entirely do. When so fortunate, I shall with a heartfelt satisfaction give you due intimation of it, persuaded that it will be an enjoyment to you.

"Do me the honour of your remembrance and of your commands. My punctuality in the execution of them will prove to you my being with regard and esteem,

Your most humble and very obedient servant,

"Bt. DE BOIGNE."

As a pendant to these letters we print an excellent account of a visit to the Taj paid on 8th January 1826 by another General, Godfrey Charles Mundy, subsequently Governor of Jersey and author of "Our Antipodes". The description occurs in Chapter II of his *Journal of a Tour in India*, of which the first edition was published in two volumes in 1832, with woodcuts and 26 etchings of hunting scenes by Landseer. He was A. D. C. to Lord Combermere during his Tour through the Upper Provinces and opens his book with the remark that a British Sage has pronounced that "every man who will take the trouble of describing in simple language the scenes of which he has been a spectator can afford an instructive and amusing narrative". This manuscript journal and portfolio from which his sketches of a Tour have been "well-nigh verbatim and lineatim extracted" is most entertaining reading. He was of Irish birth and an Etonian; and a scholar and a gentleman as well as a first rate shikari and an artist of no mean order. His descriptions and comments are always racy and his account of the Taj concludes with a capital poem he found scrawled on its walls.

"In the evening we visted the far-famed Taj, a mausoleum erected by the great emperor Shah Jehan over the remains of his favourite and beautiful wife, Arjemund Banu, or as she was surnamed, Muntaza Zemani (the most exalted of the age). No description can convey an idea of the beauty and elegance of this monument of uxorious fondness. It is, I think, the only object in India that I had heard previously eulogised, in which I was not disappointed on actual inspection. Nothing can exceed the beauty and truth to nature of the borders of leaves and flowers inlaid in the white marble: the colours have all the delicacy of nuance, and more of brilliancy than could be given by the finest painting. Cornelian, jasper, lapis-lazuli, and a host of the agate tribe, present a fine variety of tints for the flowers, and the leaves are for the most part formed of bloodstone. So minute is the anatomy of the patterns, that a rose, about the size of a shilling, contains in its mosaic no less than 60 pieces. In many places the more valuable pebbles have been fraudulently extracted—an act of sacriligious brigandage imputed to the Jauts, who had possession of Agra for some time, and carried off to their capital, Bhurtpore, many of the extravagant bequests left by Shah Jehan to his favourite city. Amongst other plunder, they bore away, Samson-like, the brazen gates of the citadel, of immense value, which are supposed to be still buried in Bhurtpore, as we failed to discover them on our warlike visit to that fortress in 1826.

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The dome of the Taj is about 250 feet high, and is, as well as the four minarets at the angles of the terrace, entirely built of the most snowy marble. It was a work of 20 years and 14 days, and cost the Shah the sum of 750,000 l., although it is said the King compelled his conquered foes to send marble and stone to the spot unpaid for. Had Shah Jehan lived long enough, he intended to erect a similar sepulchre for himself on the opposite bank of the river, and to connect the two buildings by a bridge. Thus, supposing the bridge to have cost three lacs of rupees, the expense of returning this worthy couple to their primitive dust would have amounted to the round sum of 1,500,000 l.

They show a small marble recess, in which the rhyming portion of the visitors of the Taj record their extempore effusions in praise of the elegance of the building, the gallantry of the builder, and the beauty of its fair tenant; whilst others simply inform the world that they have visited this celebrated mausoleum by scrawling at full length an uncouth name and date on its marble walls and pillars—a characteristic practice of English travellers. Amid the vast preponderance of trash there scribbled, there are, however, some lines of superior order. I will subjoin four couples, which I recollect, perhaps imperfectly:—

Oh! thou—whose great imperial mind could raise
This splendid trophy to a woman's praise!
If love or grief inspired the bold design,
No mortal joy or sorrow equals thine.
Sleep on secure—this monument shall stand
When Desolation's wing spreads over the land,
By death again in one wide ruin hurl'd,
The last triumphant wonder of the world!"

A later account of Agra and its monuments is given in "Travels in India and Kashmir" by Baron Erich von Schomberg, published in two volumes by Hurst and Blackett in 1853. This book which is little known nowadays abounds in characteristic touches and vivid descriptions. It will be seen that the writer takes us a step further in the history of the defacing of the monuments.

"The English immediately succeeded the descendants of Ackbar in Agra; and the English troops are by some pointed out as the mutilators, whilst others do not hesitate to name the "Company" as the aggressors. It would be perhaps, under such circumstances, better to hush inquiry; but it is evident, that within the fort, which was always watched and guarded, the vulgar herd could not have been the thieves. How often will the children and grandchildren of these avaricious spoilers have to blush for the deeds of their ancestors.

Outside the palace, is the place where the Bâdscha administered justice in the open air. A large block of white marble is shown as the

seat which the vizier occupied on these occasions, whilst the sultan sat on a block of black marble at the opposite side. The admirer of the arts, as well as the lover of justice, will mourn over the spoliation of this once noble palace; nor will he behold, without a feeling of indignation, this splendid monument of antiquity defaced to furnish forth building materials for the government-house at Calcutta. Nay, it is said, that even private houses have been built of the stolen spoils. Bishop Heber mentions one of these master-strokes of robbery committed by Lord Hastings. A beautiful bath of white marble, consisting of one solid block, attracted his attention. After getting it torn from the floor in which it was firmly embedded, it was found to be too heavy to be carried by the budjirows that ply upon the river, and remained, as the bishop said, a monument to disgrace the destroyer. It was conveyed away in 1832, by the commander of the fort, Captain Taylor, a man who obtained for himself an unenviable notoriety.

How strange a creature is man! What a compound of contradictions! In Nineveh he is to be seen digging up old stones with anxious care, sending them to England; and priding himself upon having discovered them: and in India he stretches forth his hand to destroy the works of art, national monuments, landmarks which would have connected the present with the past—which would have spoken to the historian of a bygone day—which would have filled the fancy of the poet with the richest creations, and have been a study for the artist.

It was with a mingled feeling of indignation and pity that I looked upon the once magnificent hall, the Divan Khana, where, in Ackbar's time, the court of justice was held. It is now converted into a store-room! The great sultan's throne is still here; a block of white unadorned marble. Of that throne, the mighty kaiser was himself the ornament.

Before taking leave of the citadel, I must mention a subterranean passage to which steps from the garden of the zenanah lead, and which the natives say extends under ground to Delhi. I entered this passage, and after a long descent, arrived at an opening broken in a wall, through which, with my guides, I crept into an octagonal chamber of about twelve feet in diameter, where, at a height of eight feet, a beam crossed the apartment. I was informed that, in ancient times, those who displeased the emperor were hanged here. In the centre of the beam is a hole four inches in diameter, through which a rope could be passed, and adjusted to the victim's neck.

Directly under the orifice in the beam is an excavation in the floor, into which I was told, the bodies of the criminals used to be dropped. This hollow was filled up by order of Captain Taylor, in whom, it is said, the aspect of the place awakened disagreeable sensations. I am, however, more inclined to believe that this hollow was once a well, and supplied the chambers above with water.

Another exercise of English rule in Agra, was converting a beautiful garden that lay directly before the citadel, into a bazaar. Gardens in India

fulfil our very beau-ideal of horticultural beauty, and the loveliness of this garden was famed throughout Hindoostan. The choicest fruits, the most exquisite flowers, were here to be found with majestic trees and ponds surrounded with the graceful lotus. And all this was uprooted to make a bazaar in a city, where there was already a sufficient number for transacting the commercial affairs of half India.

This, though a public garden, was the property of the Rajah of Benares. When asked to give up his garden, he replied, that if the government wished to take it, he could offer no opposition, and that though his opinion was asked, he had not the power of refusal. The garden was taken, the trees cut down, and the flowers uprooted.

Agra is now an English possession, and was this justice in the rulers? As well may that same government seize some of the parks or public pleasure grounds of the people of London. But even then the injustice would not be so great. The manner of living is so different in India. Beneath a tropical sun, the shade of trees and the murmuring of water are indispensable necessities. But to turn a public garden into a market-place, in a city which does not occupy the tenth part of the space it once filled, when, as Tavernier tells, there were in Agra eighty large serais, eight hundred public baths, and fifteen large market-places."

JULIAN JAMES COTTON.

The English Factory at Dacca.*

THE RISE OF THE CITY OF DACCA.

WHEN in October, 1605, the Great Emperor Akbar lay in his deathbed at Agra, and Mana-Sinha, the Governor of Bengal hurried to the Capital to support the claims of Khashru against Jahangir, he left Bengal only half-subdued. The fall of Daud Khan Kanani had transferred the nominal sovereignty of the country to the Mughals, but in reality it continued to remain in the grip of the Bhuiyans or the semi-independent landlords of Bengal. Mana-Sinha had waged war against them more or less successfully, but he succeeded in crushing very few of them. The only Bhuiyan who definitely went down before Mana-Sinha was Kedar Raya of Vikrampur, but this even ultimately did not prove of advantage to the imperial side. Kedar Raya's extensive territories which comprised the rich *pargana* of Vikrampur and some islands in the mouth of the Meghna were appropriated by Musa Khan, the son of Isa Khan Masnad-i-Ari. Musa Khan was already in possession of the *parganas* of Sonargaon and Maheswardi and also of considerable lands on the western bank of the Laksbyer. The annexation of the lands of Kedar Raya must have made Musa a landlord of very considerable power and influence, only inferior to Pratapaditya of Jessore.

It is well to bear in mind the disposition of the forces of resistance in Eastern Bengal when in April, 1608, Jahangir appointed Islam Khan to the Governorship of Bengal, perhaps with the express instruction of putting down these turbulent Chiefs. Susang, *i.e.*, north-eastern Mymensingh was under an independent Brahmin Chief, Raghunath by name. Eastern Mymensingh from the Brahmaputra to the borders of Sylhet was under the rebellious Osman who had made the fort of Bokainagar, a few miles north-west of Kishorganj, his stronghold. South of Osman's lands lay the lands of Musa Khan. West of the lands of Musa Khan lay the lands of the Ghazis of Bhaoal. Farther west lay the lands of the zemindars of Sultan-pratap. The greater part of Backerganj, or Bacla, as it was then called, was under Ramchandra Ray, a lad of about 17 or 18 in 1608. The greatest of all the Bhuiyans was of course the famous Pratapaditya of Jessore, who had 700 war vessels, 20 thousand foot-soldiers and vast territories extending over the present districts of Jessore, Khulna, Nadia and the 24-Parganas, yielding him a revenue of 15 lakhs of rupees per annum. It was was not, therefore, with a light heart that Islam Khan approached the difficult task of putting down these powerful chiefs and establishing the full authority of the Mughals over their lands.

As soon as Islam Khan reached Rajmahal, the then capital of Bengal, news reached him, that Osman had crossed the Brahmaputra and captured

* Read before the Dacca University Historical Association.

and put to death, Sujash Khan Niajai, the Mughal Thanadar in the Alap-simha pargana of the Mymensingh District.

The young Governor was, however, equal to the occasion. In December, 1608, he started from Rajmahal down the Ganges with full military equipment and accompanied by the new Dewan Abul Hasan. In January, 1609, he cast anchor at Alaipur, a few miles below Rajshahi, and his soldiers also went into camp. He could not proceed further without ascertaining the disposition of Pratapaditya, whom he was leaving on his south. The importance that Islam Khan attached to the interview may be understood from the fact that he waited about two months at this spot. Satrujit, King of Bhushna, whose lands lay between those of Bacra and Jessore, saw Islam Khan here and paid his respects as did several other Chiefs further on. Towards the end of April, Pratapaditya came and paid his respects to Islam Khan at Bajrapur near Nator and was received with high honours. He promised to assist Islam Khan in his wars with the other Chiefs of Bengal.

After putting down the rebellious Chiefs of Pabna and Rajshahi, Islam Khan advanced eastwards fighting every inch of the ground against the combined forces of Musa, Osman and the Ghazi Chief of Bhopal.

Much fiction has gathered round the name of Dacca, and the date and the reason of its foundation. The researches and discoveries of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar have now made the correction of many of the errors possible.

In the first place, Dacca was never founded by Islam Khan. We find frequent mention of the place in Akbarnama and in Inayatulla's continuation thereof, in the narrative of the wars of Mana-Sinha and Shahbaz Khan. We read of one Sayid Husain, Thanadar of Dacca, who was taken prisoner by Isa Khan. Jahangir in his memoirs once calls the place Dhaka, and once Jahangirnagar. The discovery of at least two pre-Mughal mosque inscriptions from the site, one of which is now in the Dacca Museum, and the other, the earliest Muhammadan inscription of this site, still *in situ* on Binat Bibi's mosque at Narindia, shows that the place was of some importance even in pre-Mughal days. Situated at the junction of the Dolai stream with the Buriganga, which two together formed the short cut from the Brahmaputra to the Ganges through the present Dacca District, the importance of the place was bound to be early recognised. When Islam Khan set out from Rajmahal there is no record or evidence to show that he started with the determination to seek out or found a new capital for his province. Abdul Latif expressly states (Pravashi-Aswin, 1326, p. 552, 2nd col.) that even when at Goash, a place, a few miles below present Murshidabad, Islam Khan was not sure whether to march direct on Osman's territories or sail down towards lower Bengal. The subsequent course of events, however, led him towards the region of Dacca where the Mughals had already a strong outpost. A study of the topography and of the political geography of the period of this region will show, that he did what a man of strong commonsense would have done. He advanced as far as he could without being actually on lands under the direct political control of Osman, Musa, or the Chief of South Bengal. The strategic position of

Dacca, situated on a not too powerful river, commanding the water routes which are short cuts from the big rivers of the East and South to the big rivers on the West must have appealed to him powerfully. A glance at the map will show that Dacca is situated on the southernmost point of the stretch of stable red laterite soil and was thus admirably suited for being the site of a town. When once at Dacca for political reasons, this feature of this tract must have also appealed to him. Political conditions of the country, again, compelled him to remain at this site for about four years until 1613, when he died. The result of the stay of the governor was that a town sprang up round the imperialist camp, whose natural advantages ensured its permanency and quick growth, and which Islam Khan named Jahangirnagar in honour of the reigning sovereign in his despatches. I have no hesitation in rejecting the well-known and fantastic story of the drum (Dhak) as well as the story of the name of the town after the hidden goddess (Dhaka-lswari) of Ballala Sena discovered by Mana-Sinha during his stay in these regions. Any one who has any acquaintance with images and who has carefully observed the image of Dhakeswari will, unhesitatingly, declare that it can by no means be of the time of Ballala Sena.

Secondly, the date of the foundation of Dacca is generally given as 1608, *i.e.*, the year in which Islam Khan was made the Governor of Bengal. We have seen above that there is no evidence to show that there was ever a ceremonial or official foundation. It can now be confidently asserted that even the fixing of the military head-quarters at Dacca by Islam Khan should be post-dated by full two years. As already recorded, Islam Khan started from Rajmahal in December, 1608. The rains of 1609 were spent in temporary habitations at Ghoraghat, and it was only in June, 1610 that he could reach Dacca and take up his quarters there fighting the Zemindars on the way at every step.

The cause of the transfer of the head-quarters from Rajmahal to Dacca has also been wrongly made out by Stewart (*History of Bengal, Bangabashi*, Ed., p. 237) to be the depredations of the Portuguese pirates and Islam Khan's eagerness to put them down. Mirja Sahan in his *Bahr-i-stan* almost ignores the Portuguese pirates. Only the Bengal Zemindars and their stubborn resistance to the advance of Islam Khan into lower Bengal loom large in his pages. A study of Abdul Latif's diary, Mirja Sahan's *Bahr-i-stan*, and Jahangir's memoirs, leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that it was mainly to chastise and bring into complete subjection Osman, the last of the Afghan ruler as well as the powerful Zemindars of Bengal that Islam Khan left Rajmahal and advanced fighting into the heart of Lower Bengal and ultimately made Dacca his head-quarters.

The hydrography of the city of Dacca is an extremely interesting study. Let us try to visualise the condition of this tract of land when Islam Khan landed here. We who have been resident in Dacca for a long period fail to be struck by its remarkable physical features, as we suffer from the fault of loose observation arising out of long familiarity. How many of us, I wonder, realise that the depression with a canal in the middle, south of

the forsaken power-house south of the Dacca Hall, in which the drainage of the University opens, was once probably a natural water channel and a tidal river? Yet this would appear to be a fact and the same observation applies to the zig-zag lake by the *sal*-avenue east of the race-course, and several other water-courses crossed by brick-bridges in the town of Dacca.

The most remarkable channel of water in Dacca is the one which is crossed by the iron suspension bridge, connecting the Farshganj and the Gandaria roads. In some maps, you will find it called a creek, in some a canal; while a few maps accurately call it the Dolai river. A look at the map of the District of Dacca will convince you that it is undoubtedly a natural water-course, and probably was once the lower course of the Baloo river. This Baloo river obscurely rises from the Lakshya somewhere near Kapasia and re-joins the Lakshya at Demra, about 7 miles east of Dacca. The Dolai river branches off from the Baloo a little above Demra and flows south-west through Dacca into the Buriganga. The Dolai, soon after leaving Baloo sends a branch directly to the west, and it used at one time to fall into the Turag river. This branch which at present practically forms the northern boundary of the Civil Station of Ramna is called the Pandav river, as I have learnt from local inquiry. Rennel calls it the Neri Khal. I believe many of you have met this river flowing under the brick bridge on the road to the Government Agricultural Farm at Manipur. It is traceable up to the village of Dhanmandai, but gets lost as it approaches the road to Mirpur. Beyond that road, it is again traceable up to its fall in the Turag river. If the shrunken size of this rivulet below the brick-bridge on the Manipur Road makes it hard for you to believe that the channel was really a river at one time, I should ask you only to bicycle down the Magbazar Road to the bank of the Pandav river at Magbazar, and you will require no pointing out to see for yourselves that the bed of this now-shrunken river was at one time almost as broad as the Buriganga.

Tracing the dried up channels of this Pandav river is very important for a study of the hydrography of Dacca. Unfortunately, with the growth of the Dacca city most of the shallow channels have been filled in by the citizens, leaving only those which were too broad or too deep to be lightly encroached upon to keep alive its memory. A branch of the Pandav river, as already pointed out, flowed to the west and fell into the Turag. But it appears to have sent out at least two branches to the south to fall into the Dolai river and one went by the east side of the present race-course and enclosing and making an island of the area on which the garden and the office of the Arboriculture Department, as well as the head-quarters of the East Bengal Volunteer Rifles, and of the Ramna Sub-Division P. W. D. are situated at present, flowed in a south-eastern direction past Kaisarbag into the Dolai river. The lake and the zig-zag tank east of the University Court House are its remnants, while its course from the office of the Ramna sub-Division P. W. D. to the Dolai river can be traced throughout.

The other, and the more important branch, is traceable only in its lower course; the upper course has been almost totally obliterated by the

growth of the city. One of the two points from which a continuous course can be traced is just south of the forsaken power house. The other is close to the Husseini Dalan. Two branches from these two points unite at Kayettuly and form a single stream. This stream flows almost direct west parallel to the Bangshall road at the end of which it turns southwards and after sending a branch west towards Armanitola to form a marsh, again turns to the east at the southern extremity of Malitola and flows into the Dolai river past the Nawabpur and the Narendia bridges. This branch of the Pandav river has had far-reaching effects on the topography of the city of Dacca. Any one standing on the Bangshall bridge and looking to the south will be impressed with the breadth of this channel even in the present days of its decline. This channel had to be bridged at every important crossing as the town grew in extent. The bigger bridges like the Narendia, Nawabpur, Malitola and Bangshall bridges were in all probability constructed at Government expenses, but some of the smaller bridges are still known after the names of their pious constructors, *e.g.*, the bridge on the Jail Road is known as Chand Khan's Bridge; that on the Aga Sadall's Road is known as the Raja's bridge, and so on.

When Islam Khan made Dacca his head-quarters, he at once saw that this branch of the Pandav river would be an excellent moat for a fortified military settlement. With Buriganga on the south, and this quite respectable branch of the Pandav river on the north, he would easily be able to defend his small settlement against any sudden attack from the enemy. We find that a canal runs west from the Malitola-Tantibazar corner of this branch of the Pandav river and falls into the Buriganga past the Armanitola and the Baburbazar bridges. This canal has all the look of an artificial water-course, and I am inclined to think that this was dug by Islam Khan to complete the north-western and the western moat of his fortified settlement. Islampur, and the mosque at Asak's lane attributed to Islam Khan, occupy the south-eastern part of this area.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT DACCA.

In August, 1613, Islam Khan died and was succeeded by his brother Kasim Khan. In the course of the next half-a-century, the small military settlement established by Islam Khan grew into a large city. In 1663 Manucci visited Dacca. He says that the city was not very strong or large, yet it had many inhabitants. This is another instance of Manucci's loose statements, because a city cannot have many inhabitants without being large. That the city had by this time extended over a large area of land is apparent from the testimony of Tavernier who came to the city in 1666, only three years after Manucci's visit. Tavernier found the city of Dacca in a flourishing condition. The city extended along the river side for ten miles from the brick bridge at Kadamtali to the Satgambaz mosque, and even

beyond. Tavernier says that there was a great scramble for accommodation by the river side. This would lead us to conclude that the city did not extend to any very great distance inland. But the evidence of the next visitor Thomas Bowrey (1669-79) would serve to dispel that erroneous idea. Here are the exact words of Thomas Bowrey. (Countries round the Bay of Bengal—by Thomas Bowrey, Ed. Sir Richard Temple Hak Luyt Society, second series, No. XII).

"The city of Dacca is a very large spacious one, but standeth upon low marshy, swampy ground, and the water thereof very brackish which is the only inconvenience it hath, but it hath some very fine conveniences that maketh amends, havinge a fine and large river that runneth close by the walls thereof navigable for ships of 5 or 600 tunnes in burthen and the water of the river, beinge an arm of the Ganges is extraordinarily good but it is a great way to be fetched by some of this citty for it is not less in circuit than 40 English miles.

"An admirable city for its greatnesse for its magnificent buildings and multitude of inhabitants."

18936.

Thomas Bowrey was a sailing master and an independent trader, one of those interlopers or pirates, of whom the East India Company in its early days, was mightily afraid. His diction of course bears no comparison with the finished writings of Streynsham Master or Hedges, but no one will grudge him the credit that he was an accurate observer. The marshy nature of the area on which Dacca was situated was correctly observed by him and his record that the city was about 40 miles in circuit supports the tradition that the city at one time extended up to Tangi, about 12 miles north from the river side.

The English Factory was originally situated at Tejgaon, and its site is marked on Rennel's map No. 12. It was about four miles distant from the river side. Hedges complains of the inconvenient situation of the site.—"The English Factory is at least 3 miles distant from this (the Dewan's quarters) or the Nawab's Durbar, a most inconvenient situation for doing of business, being far from the courts of Justice, Custom House and the water side; for taking up or sending away of goods." (Hedges' Diary, Vol. I, p. 44). It is not clear why the English chose such an inconvenient site for the establishment of their Factory. The Dutch had their Factory by the river-side on the site on which the Mitford Hospital stands at present, but the Dutch came to Dacca much earlier than the English. Possibly, when the English came to establish a Factory at Dacca, the scramble for the river-side land, testified to by Tavernier, was so keen that they had to go four miles inland for the site of a Factory. Another reason may be guessed. The Dacca Factory had a very small beginning. Bowrey says—"The English and the Dutch have each of them a Factory in the city of Dacca; yet their investments are small, on each side being very inconsiderable." Bowrey goes on to say that the only advantage the English derived from a Factory at Dacca was the proximity to the Nawab, to whom they might represent grievances at all times and at first hand. The court of Directors was

naturally unwilling to go into great expences for this doubtful advantage. It would appear that one Mr. James Hart, an Englishman, started a private business at Dacca long before the Company's Factory was established. But his business did not prosper. His firm was situated at Tejgaon. When he closed business, he evidently transferred his lands and property to the East India Company on easy terms. When the Company started a Factory at Dacca, Mr. Hart's lands, secured on easy terms, came in handy for a Factory on which no great expenses were contemplated, and thus the Factory came to be situated on such an inconvenient site. That this land belonged to James Hart is amply testified to by an entry in the Dacca Diaries in January, 1682. It would appear from that entry, that Mr. Hart had played a double game. Before transferring the rights of his land at Tejgaon to the East India Company, he had, it would appear, transferred it once before to a man who is called 'a Saphi' and a 'Nawab's servant' in the Dacca Diaries. The Company's officers, innocent of this transaction had bought the land from Mr. Hart. In January, 1682, the 'Saphi' turned up armed with a deed of gift executed in his favour in 1658 by Mr. Hart. This formidable document was written in Portuguese and the writing on it 'did impart a gift of the said Hart's ground, house and goods' to the 'Saphi.' The bewildered servants of the company found to their dismay that the paper appeared to be old and the contents thereof genuine. It was a real struggle for existence! They had therefore no difficulty in believing this document to be a counterfeit and so sent the 'Saphi' about his business. "Nevertheless," the Dacca Diaries go on to record "it was thought convenient to send for ye Cottwall to us which we did, whom our favour as we directed him discoursed ye saphie so peremptorily and menacingly that he soon departed, and we gratified the Cottwall with $1\frac{1}{2}$ yds. of ordinary cloth, and his servants and peons 2 rupees." Thus the infant Factory was saved from collapse at the expense of three cubits of ordinary cloth and two good rupees!

Manucci says that when in 1663 he visited Dacca, there were two Factories there, one English, and the other Dutch. "There were many Christians, white and black Portuguese, with a church served by a Friar called Agastinho." There appears to be no other record of a regular English Factory at Dacca so early as 1663. Manucci met an Englishman called Thomas Pratt at Dacca. He was in charge of the building of war vessels and ammunition and drew the very considerable salary of Rs. 500 per month from Mir Jumla. Subsequently we find Mr. Pratt in the capacity of an Agent at Dacca on behalf of the East India Company. It would appear from Manucci's record that Pratt was not only a Political Agent of the English concern in Bengal at the Nawab's Darbar but also a Commercial Agent to their business. In all probability there was a small English Factory on Mr. Hart's land at Tejgaon under the supervision of Mr. Pratt, when Manucci visited Dacca. Unfortunately Mannuci fails to record the connection between the English Factory and Mr. Pratt, whose guest he was at Dacca and from whom he received many favours. That Pratt was a paid agent of the Company is, however, definitely proved by his submitting a bill in 1663

for extraordinary expenses at the Durbar, attendants, diet, etc. He submitted this bill with the statement that he was managing things much more economically than the Dutch, and he was actually gaining nothing by serving the English!

The agency of Pratt was, however, not to be a true record of haggling transactions only. The man who could come out of England and secure a salary of Rs. 500 a month which is the equivalent of a monthly salary of Rs. 25,000 nowadays from a Government of alien faith in a far off country, was certainly a man far above the common run. Soon after the death of Mir Jumla in April 12, 1663, when Daud Khan was in Dacca as the Deputy Governor of Shayesta Khan, this bold and restless spirit was involved in trouble with the Mughal Government. The story is best told in Mannuci's own words:—

"One day it happened that some soldiers interfered groundlessly with a neighbour of Thomas Plata (Pratt), Englishman. Thereupon, the servants of Thomas Plata ran out to find the cause of the noise. They interceded for their neighbour but the soldiers abused them. Thus it ended in their coming to blows, and the servants being unable to resist the large number of soldiers who had congregated, beat a retreat into their master's house. Into it came the soldiers to renew the fight, breaking down the house door. Upon this, Thomas Plata seized his weapons and aided by his servants and the Portuguese who had joined him, began to slay the men directly he saw them, paying respect to none of them. He did great execution, making use of a blunderbuss carrying a good charge and the courtyard being full of people, he discharged it without interval several times.

"At last seeing that the matter would not terminate until he was destroyed, he ordered the best of his goods to be carried to a boat and passed out by a door in his house which opened upon the river. He took refuge in the boat with some others who elected to follow him; then putting out into the open, he gave the city a bombardment, and retired to seek a refuge in Arakan."

Manuci then goes on to relate how he went to Arakan and was put to death by its king through Daud Khan's diplomacy. But Pratt certainly did not die this time, as Tavernier saw him presiding over the English Factory in 1666. Pratt rebelled a second time in 1667, and it was probably this time that he met with his death at Arakan.

The English Factors at Hugli and Surat were taken aback when the news of Pratt's bold indiscretion reached them. In May, 1664, we find the Council at Surat deploring the unhappy accident and hoping that the Nawab may be reconciled. In July, 1664, the Hugli Council stopped Pratt's wages till he cleared himself (Dacca Diaries, J. A. S. B., 1920, No. 4, p. 91). But the services of a useful hand like Pratt could not be lightly dispensed with at this critical juncture when Nawab Shayesta Khan was making huge preparations for the conquest of Chittagong and extirpation of piracy in the eastern waters. As already noted, Tavernier found Pratt President of the English at Dacca in January, 1665. The great naval struggle with Arakan was then

in progress and when, on the 22nd January, Mr. Tavernier was paying a friendly visit to Mr. Pratt, the Mughal fleet under Ibn Husain and the Mughal army under Shayesta Khan's son Bozoorg Umed Khan were hurrying towards Chittagong. Tavernier found that the Portuguese of Chittagong had already come over to the Imperial side and the army and the navy had gone out to fight. When, on the 23rd January, Tavernier was busy making purchases in the bazars of Dacca, the first battle between the Arakanese and the Mughal fleets was being fought in the Kanthalia Creek of Feni.

The restless Thomas Pratt, however, again fell into trouble, for reasons, of which there is no record. In 1667 he had to fly from Dacca, but he succeeded in capturing two of the Nawab's vessels on the way. With them he went to Arakan and nothing more was heard of him. The Nawab demanded the surrender of Pratt from the English at Hooghly, but they naturally disclaimed all responsibility in this rebellion of Pratt. They could point out that they had stopped his subsidy when he rebelled for the first time in 1664 and had not resumed connection until he cleared himself and was forgiven by the Nawab.

It now began to dawn upon the authorities of the East-India Company in India that it would not do to have a mercenary soldier as the head of a commercial concern. The Council at Hugli had evidently represented the state of affairs at Dacca to the Court of Directors in England. On the 24th January 1668 the Court gave the Council at Hugli permission to start a regular factory at Dacca,—“to send 2 or 3 fit persons thither to reside and to furnish them with cloth, etc., proper for that place.” (Hedge's Diary, Vol. III, p. cxcv).

N. K. BHALTASALI.

Persian News Papers in the Hon'ble John Company's Days.

BEFORE the advent of the English, India depended for its news of current events on the daily rumours of the bazaar. The chiefs and nobles employed their own news writers and *qasids* for writing and despatching news to neighbouring states or distant allies. Through them it filtered down to the masses. Some passer-by would pick up news and impart it to his friend as they gathered at dusk around the soothing *hukka* in the village green. Set in motion the report was carried from mouth to mouth gaining in transmission till it traversed the whole peninsula. Another source of public information was the merchant who came from far and near to sell his wares. The newcomer would naturally be curious to know all about the land he was visiting and the informant expected to learn, in return, everything about the stranger's country and society. But trade presupposes all round peace and tranquillity and these were not always prevalent. On such occasions the ingenious *dak* system must have worked splendidly. Unfortunately that institution did not outlive any of its original promoters.

When the English came to India they brought newspapers with them. Hickey's *Gazette*, the first newspaper that was published in India entered upon its stormy career on the 29th January 1781. Hickey's *Gazette* commanded a wide circulation and was well received. On the 4th of March 1784 the Government ushered into existence a small official sheet called the *Calcutta Gazette or Oriental Advertiser* and in January 1795 the *Bengal Harkara* made its appearance. These papers made Indians familiar with the ideas of journalism and the birth of the Indian Press was the result. Several papers sprang up mainly written in Persian, the State language of mediæval India, but languishing after a while they died in their infancy. The reasons are not far to seek. The literate population was limited. The masses cared little about politics so long as they had peace and order and curiosity was satisfied in the bazaar. The English papers also languished but from very different causes. They were too violent in manner and scurrilous in tone. Their pages were filled with indecorous attacks on private persons and unwarranted censures on public measures. The Government soon awakened to the danger of allowing them to go unrestrained and drew up and enforced stringent regulations which all but stamped them out.

The Persian newspapers that sprang up towards the close of the eighteenth century were short-lived and no trace of them remains now. The oldest extant paper is the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* which is preserved in the Imperial Record Department of the Government of India. This weekly

eight-page journal was started at Calcutta about May 1822. For the first five years it seems to have been subsidized by the Government for the Royal Arms appear on the title page, and the news wears an official appearance. In its second year the enterprising Editor brought out an Urdu Supplement with the following notice in English. "The Editor of *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* begs leave respectfully to notify to the public that he has, with a view to rendering this publication more interesting, entertaining and instructive to the European portion of its supporters, resolved to publish in future a supplementary sheet in the pure Hindoostanee or Oordoo tongue, at the additional trifling charge of Four Annas the Number, or One Rupee per month if taken together with the Two Persian sheets: but if taken separately, Two Rupees will be charged for it per mensem."

The Supplement was not, as might be supposed, an Urdu version of the Persian principal. It only contained amusing stories and curious information. A few weeks later these were dropped in favour of an Urdu translation from an English translation of the *Tarikh-i-Alamgiri* which was completed in its pages. In this edition also appeared from time to time Urdu *ghazals* from the pen of one Mr. De Costa. De Costa the only Anglo-Indian writer of Urdu and Persian poems was a contemporary of Derozio, the Eurasian poet, and J. W. Ricketts. He was connected with Doveton College, Calcutta, but he did not shine as did these greater contemporaries. He was very humble in his manner and appearance, but had a rich vein of literary ability. He was prominent in most of the Anglo-Indian activities of his days. His descendants lived and died in very humble circumstances in Sooterkin's Lane, Calcutta. De Costa was linked up with Dr. E. W. Chambers in his great effort to form the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association in the year 1876. These poems were written in faultless Urdu and were a credit to a foreigner. Several of his *ghazals* are sung in Calcutta even to this day.

The Supplement did not find many supporters and was discontinued from the 23rd January 1824 as, "our patrons find no interest in the Urdu language and even Indian gentlemen whose mother-tongue it is, have a predilection for Persian." The Persian portion was accordingly augmented to twelve pages and the additional space was utilized in publishing a serial translation of *Alif Laila* (Arabian Nights) "not yet rendered into Persian or Hindi". The reader continued to be entertained with interesting stories and humorous sketches from time to time. The journal grew in popularity till in 1828 it acquired its own Press, the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* Press of Colootola. The Royal Arms were then removed and the Editor began to write with a freer pen. The range of information was also extended; banking and commercial returns were published; and comments were made, although in very guarded language.

About the year 1831 when the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* had fairly established itself another Persian weekly made its appearance at Calcutta. This was the *Aina-i-Sikandar* printed at its own Press at Kalamba (Kalanga ?). It adopted the manner of its older contemporary in the matter of style, print

and selection of news. Comments and criticism were absent. The papers are mere chronicles of current events in which fancy was interwoven with fact. They were not as yet "the voice of the people" or even of a particular section of the people.

The *Sultan-ul-Akhbar* started on the 2nd August 1835 shows more independence than its precursors. Rajab Ali of Lucknow, the editor and proprietor, was a shrewd writer and master of a picturesque style. He freely quotes from the contemporary papers both English and Persian. To some extent he may be said to have voiced public feelings for we find him occasionally criticising Government measures and producing facts and figures in support of his argument. He often complains of the inefficiency of the Police system and exhorts the Government to keep a watchful eye over it. It must be added, however, that his criticisms were of the constructive type and were made with the sole view of bringing public grievances to the notice of the authorities. But he appears to take peculiar pleasure in narrating scandalous stories.

By the middle of the last century newspapers had become very popular. From Calcutta alone at least five Persian journals were published of which three have been described. The other two were the *Mah-i-Alan Afroz* and the *Mihir-i-Munir*, the latter a tri-weekly. They had no distinct individuality and require no separate notice. From Ludhiana appeared a Persian weekly called the *Akhbar-i-Ludhiana*. It was started about 1835 and was printed at the American Mission Press of Ludhiana. It contained Indian and foreign news items and occasionally published interesting articles on modern inventions and discoveries. Later, as time rolled on, newspapers began to increase as education spread.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Portrait in the Town Hall of General Hewett.

IN vol. xxvii, part i, of this Journal Sir Evan Cotton demonstrated that the 'mystery picture' in the Calcutta Town Hall represented neither Colonel Colin Mackenzie nor Major-General Garstin nor Lord Gough, but was really a portrait of Lieutenant-General George Hewett, Commander-in-Chief, 1807-11. Sir Evan was, however, unable to account for such a portrait having been painted and hung in the Town Hall, though he conjectured that it might have been intended as a counterblast to the action of the inhabitants of Madras in arranging for a portrait of Sir Samuel Auchmuty.

The following excerpt from the supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, 14 November, 1811, shows that the picture was a tribute from the mercantile community of Calcutta to the merits of Hewett's administration of the government during Lord Minto's absences from the capital, the first of which extended from October 1809 to March, 1810 (during His Lordship's visit to Madras) and the second from March to November, 1811 (while on the expedition to Java). Such a compliment to a departing administrator was not uncommon; but there seems little doubt that Hewett was personally popular and that real feeling prompted the proposal.

"On Tuesday morning a deputation from the merchants of Calcutta assembled at the house of John Palmer, Esq., at Chowringhee. From thence they proceeded to the house of H. E. Lieutenant-General Hewett, Vice-President in Council, Commander-in-Chief, &c., &c., and presented an address to His Excellency, of which the following is a copy:

To H. E. Lieutenant-General Hewett, Vice-President in Council, Commander-in-Chief, &c., &c.

Sir,

The commercial body of Calcutta, being deeply impressed with a sense of the condescending attention manifested by Your Excellency, during your administration of this government, to the interests of their body, beg permission to wait upon Your Excellency on the occasion of your approaching departure for Europe, with their heartfelt acknowledgements of the benefits which they have derived from Your Excellency's protection.

They venture at the same time respectfully to hope that Your Excellency will indulge their solicitude to possess a memorial of your person, by doing them the honor to sit for your portrait, to be placed in the Town Hall of Calcutta.

They desire to offer to Your Excellency their warmest wishes for your safe return to your native country, and for the enjoyment of every blessing

which you have so conspicuously merited by the virtues of your private and of your public life.

Downie, Cruttenden & Co.
 Alexander & Co.
 Colvins, Bazett & Co.
 Fairlie, Fergusson & Co.
 Hogue, Davidson, Robertson & Co.
 Jos. Baretto & Co.
 Johannes Sarkies & Co.
 Mackintosh, Fulton & M'Clintock.
 James Scott & Co.
 James M'Taggart.
 Palmer & Co.

Calcutta, November 12, 1811.

To which His Excellency was pleased to make the following reply:

To the Commercial Body of Calcutta.

Gentlemen,

I beg to assure you of the very high gratification which I derive from this testimony of my having been so fortunate as to obtain the good opinion of the truly respectable commercial body of Calcutta. But whilst I acknowledge the great satisfaction which I cannot but feel on such an occasion, I must disclaim any other pretensions to your favorable sentiments than such as may arise from an earnest and conscientious desire to discharge the duties of my station with a strict regard to the public and commercial interests. It is to the comprehensive knowledge and enlightened minds of my colleagues that I must ever ascribe the success which you are pleased to attach to the measures of government under my administration.

In accepting the very flattering mark of approbation which you, gentlemen, have done me the honor to propose, I beg of you to receive the expression of my most sincere regard and esteem, and of my most anxious and cordial wishes for the continuance of your collective and individual prosperity and happiness.

(Signed) G. HEWETT."

It is accepted that the portrait was the work of Robert Home, who had painted a similar tribute to Hewett's predecessor, Lord Lake; and certainly it is characteristic of that diligent but uninspired artist. He had less than a month for the necessary sittings, for Hewett took his departure from Calcutta on 10 December, 1811.

WILLIAM FOSTER.



SHUJA-UD-DAULAH.

Reproduced from a painting in the collection of
Mr. A. Ghosh of Calcutta.

Shuja-ud-Daulah, Nawab Vazir of Oudh (1754-75.)

THE year 1707 was the most fateful year in the annals of the Mughal Empire in India. On Friday, the 4th March of that year the Great Emperor, Aurangzeb, breathed his last. His last words of advice and warning to his sons, the result of his experience of half a century's rule, failed to create any impression on their minds; and within a few weeks after the death of this great "Puritan Monarch of India", Hindusthan was convulsed by a series of fratricidal wars. The Emperors who ruled after Aurangzeb's death were mere shadows of sovereignty who failed to check the downward march. Within fifty years of the Emperor's death, the mighty Empire of the Mughals had dwindled to such an extent that minor States were emboldened to claim their independence of the Mughal Empire.

Among the States which claimed freedom, the kingdom of Oudh occupied the highest place. The importance of Oudh dates back to the appointment about 1732 of Saadat Ali Khan (1), the founder of this dynasty, to its Governorship. Saadat Ali Khan was succeeded in 1739, in the command of Oudh by his sister's son, who was also his son-in-law, Abul Mansur Muhammad Mukim, better known as Safdar Jung (2). Safdar dying in 1754 (17th of Zilhidj, 1167), was succeeded by his son, Shuja-ud-Daulah, who also became *Vazir* of the Mughal Empire seven years later in 1761. Shuja-ud-Daulah, was thus the first *Nawab-Vazir* of Oudh.

Although Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah became *Vazir* in the year 1174 of the *Hejira*, his investiture did not take place till the 21st of *Rabi-us-sani* 1175. He received from the then Delhi Emperor, Shah Alum II, on this occasion, according to the *Seir Mutaqherin*, "a *qhylaat* of seven pieces, with four plates of jewels and gems and these were followed by a chaplet of pearls which was thrown over his neck, whilst he was presented with the casket of *Vazir* which was of gold, studded with jewels". The following character sketch by the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* (3) may prove interesting: "Shuja-ud-Daulah in his own temper was slothful, negligent and careless,

(1) "Saadat Ali Khan was a merchant of Nishapur, a town in Khorasan, and was of great service to the then Delhi Emperor, Muhammad Shah, to free himself from the thralldom of the Saiyid brothers of Barha". *Lucknow Gazetteer* by H. R. Nevill, I.C.S.

(2) "He claimed to be a Saiyid or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, and also of Abbas the Great, Shah of Persia". But Dow, styles Safdar Jung as "the infamous son of a more infamous Persian pedlar". Forster, however, who conversed with some inhabitants of Nishapur, says that "they bore indisputable testimony to the ancient rank of the family of the Persian adventurer". He built the city of Faizabad. *Gazetteer of India* by E. Thornton.

(3) The *Seir Mutaqherin* by Saiyid Ghulam Hussain Khan.

but so valorous that, with that single quality of his, he found means to contain (*sic*) the Zemindars and the other refractory people with which (*sic*) his dominions abounded; so that the government was always respected. He was exceedingly fond of the company of women, without being attached to any and addicted to every kind of pleasure, without exception, save, however, that of drinking wine. Nevertheless, there appeared no impudence in his character and no contempt of decorum in his behaviour. He had such an abundant fund of goodness, liberality and benignity, as made him connive at trespasses against his interest, and rendered him ever ready to forgive the guilty". His "abundant fund of goodness" is evidenced from the fact that when he heard of the tragic death of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah his expression of sympathy (4) was as deep as it was sincere.

We find from the records of the year 1761 that when Raja Ram Narayan of Patna had some misunderstanding with Nawab Qasim Ali Khan, chiefly in connection with the accounts of the revenues of the Patna Province, he wrote an *arzi* (5) to Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah soliciting military help from him. The English translation of this *arzi* runs thus:—"According to your command I have set the business on foot and am waiting day and night for the approach of your noble standard to this country (Patna Province) which is without a head. May the Almighty bring about a day in which this land by your blessed arrival may be raised to a state of abundance and prosperity! I hope that you will speedily despatch a strong army into these parts and I am ready to devote my life to your cause. I will take the measure (*sic*) for driving out the European infidels and send the Nabob Cossim Ale Cawn (*sic*) a prisoner to you. In the twinkling of an eye the regulation of this country may be affected by the hands of Your Excellency". From the Minutes of the Select Committee (6) (Foreign Department) dated 3rd August 1768, which deal with several papers relating to the Nawab Vazir's military preparations to obtain possessions of the districts of Corah and Allahabad in the year 1768, we find further evidence of his military proclivities. We gather from those papers that Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah employed engineers to manufacture his guns; that Colonel Sir Robert Barker in his letter to Colonel R. Smith spoke of the superior quality of his guns; that Captain G. Harper admitted to Colonel R. Smith of the astonishing improvements effected in his army; that the Board warned Colonel Sir Robert Barker to keep a vigilant eye on his military movements and also to equip himself with provisions, etc. Again, we find from a certificate (7) granted by Major J. Graham to Dost Beg, a wounded military horseman, at Allahabad on the 9th March, 1768, that Shuja-ud-Daulah used to maintain an efficient cavalry. We learn further from the Persian records (8) that the aforesaid *Nawab* trained his troops after the European system. Instances may thus be multiplied from the

(4) Pub. Progs. Vol. Jan.-Aug. 1757, p. 247.

(5) Bengal Pub. Cons. Vol. 1761, p. 328.

(6) S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1768, pp. 71-90.

(7) Pub. O. C. 27 June 1768, No. 2.

(8) Nawab Shuj-ud-Daulah's letter to Warren Hastings, Governor, dated 5 June 1774 (Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, lett. No. 1086).

records to prove that Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah was not a man to be trifled with.

It would be out of place to attempt in the short compass of this paper a detailed history of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, but the following notes relating to his career may not prove uninteresting:—Troubles in Multan and the Punjab which enabled the Mahrattas to extend their conquests as far as Lahore and to foster the steady growth of their influence in Hindusthan seriously alarmed the Rohillas and the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah. The latter invited Ahmad Shah, King of the Durranees, to come to India to their support. Accordingly Ahmad Shah setting out from Candahar, crossed the river Attock in the beginning of the year 1173 of the *Hijra* and joined his co-religionists. For two months the great armies representing the two rival religions lay opposite each other engaging in skirmishes, the principal of which was the Battle of Badely, in which nearly 70,000 Mahrattas were slain (in the second month, *Jumadi*, 1173 of the *Hijra*). Again, early in 1761 a pitched battle was fought (the third Battle of Panipat, 1761 A. D. Thursday, the 6th of the second *Jumadi* 1174 of the *Hijra*) on the field of Panipat where 80,000 Mahrattas were destroyed. After this battle, the Durranee King, as the conqueror of Hindusthan, bestowed the Empire on Shah Alum II (8a) and the office of *Vazir* on Shuja-ud-Daulah. He left India the same year, taking with him a fabulous sum of money, amounting to two *crores*, of which 90 lakhs were paid by Shuja-ud-Daulah. (9)

(8a) In this connection the following translation of a letter from Nawab Zeenat Mahal, mother of Shah Alum, to Shah Alum who was then away from Delhi, will be read with interest. In this letter she urged her son to come to Delhi immediately to meet the Durranee King and to receive the sovereignty of India from his hands: "The King of Kings is arrived at the Killa. To this day which is the 20th of the month of Rijib (*sic*) I have frequently visited the King of Kings. He expects your arrival and is impatient for it. He has given me great encouragement in assuring me that he remains but for Shah Alum, and his word may be depended on. My son, he assured that on your coming everything will be concluded. When I desired the Shah (Durranee King) to send some token of favour to Shah Alum, he replied: I before sent a Sripache, etc., but he did not come; to repeat it is not proper. It is better that Shah Alum come himself, then I will put his country into his hands and depart. Timur Shah has given me marks of his affection more than I can express, and he too desires most earnestly that you may arrive soon; but he says, that he understands some ill-advised people will not let you come, just as at this place ill-advised people say many things to the King of Kings, but he pays no regard to them and waits for the King. God forbid, says he, that Shah Alum should suffer himself to be led away by the advice of ill-designing men, and delay coming: This will not be well: We are faithful to our engagements. All this trouble that we have taken upon ourselves, is for the sake of Shah Alum Bahadur (*sic*): let him by all possible means come hither speedily. My dear son, how long will it be before you come? This is the time, and it is expedient and necessary that you come immediately. If the Shah, which God forbid, should be so pressed as to depart, fresh difficulties will fall out. Aga Rizza is arrived with letters from you to the Shah and for Timur Shah, as also for Zeen Begum. I have read all these letters in the presence of the said persons. They said: we will send letters to invite Shah Alum, but your letters will have a greater effect if you invite him. My son, if you find anything in those parts worthy your choice, wash your hands of this place."

P.S.—"For God's sake, I beg you will send Bahadur Allee, your servant, to me, as I have no life left." (S. C. Progs. Vol. March 1761.)

(9) S. C. Progs. Vol. II, 1761, p. 111.

The author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* gives us the following graphic description of the battle:—"The field of Panipat, where 80,000 Mahrattas were destroyed, looked after the battle, like a vast tract sown with tulips and as far as the sight could extend, nothing could be discovered but bodies stretched at the foot of bodies as if they had been asleep or marshalled by art. After the battle two and twenty thousand women, girls and children of both sexes, some of them persons of distinction and related to the most illustrious of the slain were distributed amongst the victorious who plundered an incredible quantity of money, jewels and fine stuffs, nor is there coming at any computation of the mighty sum. The whole of that numerous artillery, with two hundred thousand oxen and cows, fifty thousand horses, five hundred large elephants and an infinity of camels and mules fell into the hands of the victorious".

Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah having in 1763 made common cause with Nawab Qasim Ali Khan in resisting the arms of the East India Company was repulsed in an attack on the British army under Major H. Munro at Patna on the 13th May, 1764, the middle of second *Rabi* 1178 of the *Hejira*; and on the 22nd of the same month was totally routed at Buxar (10). Finding no other resource left, Shuja-ud-Daulah fled through Faizabad and Lucknow to Bareilly. Having obtained help from the Pathans, Afghans and the Mahrattas he again faced the British army under Brig.-General J. Carnac in 1765 near Jajmau (in the Cawnpore District) and again sustained a crushing defeat. This second defeat upset Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah. After it he went to Ferohabad (Farrukhabad), where he complained bitterly of the defection and general indifference of his army to his cause. We find from the *Seir-Mutaqherin* that "every one of the army brought forth some excuse and covered himself with some pretence. But as it was not from the heart it made no impression on the *Vasir*". At last Ahmad-Qhan-Bangash, Nawab of Farrukhabad, gave him sound and friendly advice. He told him to go personally to the English camp and to see General Carnac. This piece of advice on the part of Bangash to Shuja-ud-Daulah, forms very interesting reading. The concluding portion of it runs: "Without any one's mediation get up and go alone, and only with your person to the English camp. Do not think ill of such a step. From what I see and hear of these strangers (the English) they seem always to act according to the dictates of generosity and sound sense; nor is it probable that they shall throw the dice of treachery with you or bring you into any disgrace or danger; on the contrary, I shall be egregiously mistaken, if out of regard to your name, and out of respect to the renown of your family, they shall not set open the door of friendship and shew you so much regard and consideration, as shall not fail to satisfy

(10) The Separate General Letter from the Board to the Court of Directors dated Fort William, 3rd January 1765, gives an account of this battle. According to the *Seir Mutaqherin* "five or six thousand men were slain in the action. Ten thousand men or more stuck in the mire or perished in the retreat; and two years after, the town of Buxar, the fields and muddy shores of the river for miles together, were beset with human bones."

you entirely ". As this advice had the ring of candour about it, Shuja-ud-Daulah thought it both advantageous and honourable to take such a step. He accordingly wrote a letter (11) to General Carnac (which was received by him on the 19th May 1765), the English translation of which is as follows:—

" It is known all over the world that the illustrious Chiefs of the English Nation are constant and unchangeable in their friendship which my heart is fully persuaded of. The late disturbances were contrary to my inclination, but it was so ordered by Providence. I now see things in their proper light and have a strong desire to come to you alone, and I am persuaded you will treat me in a manner befitting your own honour. You have shewn great favour to others. When you become acquainted with me, you will see with your own eyes and be thoroughly convinced of my attachment, from which I never will depart while I have life. I am this day, 26th of the Moon, arrived at Bilgram. Please God in a very short time I shall have the happiness of meeting you. I regard not wealth nor the government of countries; your favour and friendship are all I desire. Please God I will be with you very soon when you will do for me what you think best ". To the above letter General Carnac gave the following friendly reply on the 24th May 1765 from Jajmau (12): " I have been favoured with your letter in which were some lines wrote (*sic*) with your own hand, declaring your intention of coming to me.

" The receipt of this letter gave me great pleasure. You were before unacquainted with our customs and disposition, thanks be to God, that you are now become sensible of the justice and upright intention of the English. Now that you are pleased to come to me in a friendly manner you may depend on the best reception in my power suitable to our customs and I will not be deficient in forwarding whatever is reasonable for your interest; and when your Excellency shall shew a real attachment to the English, their friendship towards you in return will be made manifest to the whole world. You may with perfect confidence come here as to your own house and to those who wish your welfare ". We subsequently find from the letter (13) of General Carnac to the Board, dated Jajmau, 27th May 1765, that the *Nawab Vazir* arrived at his camp on the 26th May and that he was given a fitting reception. This letter, which exhibits the mental condition of the *Nawab Vazir* after his Buxar defeat, should repay perusal:—

" Hearing that Shuja-ud-Daulah was drawing near I sent Captain Swinton with the Raja Shitab Roy to meet him. He arrived in the evening of the 26th May 1765 on the opposite side of the river and immediately crossed it with his brother-in-law, Salar Jung, and a very few followers in order to wait upon me. I received him with all possible marks of distinction at which he expressed much satisfaction. He appears, however, a good deal dejected at his present condition which must bear hard upon him and he must

(11) S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, p. 54.

(12) S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, p. 55.

(13) S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, p. 56.

find himself without resource, or being as he undoubtedly is the most considerable man in the Empire and of an uncommon high spirit he would not have submitted to such a condescension. It will in my opinion greatly add to the credit of the English name throughout the country our behaving with generosity towards a person who has all along bore so high a reputation in Hindusthan". However, the result of this interview was the conclusion of a Treaty at Allahabad (14) on the 16th August, 1765, some of the principal conditions of which were (1) that the districts of Corah and Allahabad should be taken away from the *Nawab Vazir* and given to the Emperor Shah Alum II, for his expenses; (2) that the Factories and the entire freedom of trade should be established in the Shuja-ud-Daulah's dominions; (3) that the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah should pay 50 lakhs of rupees to the company as an indemnity for war expenses. "These articles having been set to writing were confirmed by signatures and seals; and there remained now to Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah not one reason for staying, save that of paying quickly the money promised to the Company".

Article No. 3 of the Treaty now engrossed all his thoughts. We find from a letter (15) written by Brigadier-General J. Carnac to the Board from Allahabad, dated the 18th July 1765, that the *Nawab Vazir* had then in his possession ten *lakhs* worth of jewelleries and bills to pay for the proposed indemnity. But how to pay off the remainder 'forty *lakhs*?' We find from the *Seir Mutaqherin* (16) that under this helpless state "he proposed to every one of his favourites and servants to assist him with a certain sum of money, according to his ability. With this in view he wrote to his mother, to his Consort, to the brothers of his Consort and everyone of his relations and friends, requesting their assistance and informing them that his release depended entirely upon the payment of the stipulated money. He soon found that his very best servants proved much fonder of their money than of their master's concerns. The men who had made their fortunes in his house and were most indebted to him for their well-being, offered only one-half, or one-third or one-fourth of what he might reasonably have expected from them". But this was not the case with his beloved Consort, Bahu Begum (17). Her act proved to the world what a treasure a devoted and chaste

(14) Pub. O. C. 23 June 1766, No. 1; see also S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, pp. 57-8 and S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 54. We find from the Resolution of the Minutes of the Select Committee dated Fort William, 7th September 1765, that "it was decided to present an address of thanks to Brigadier-General J. Carnac for his faithful and eminent services during the Buxar and Jajmau battles; particularly for his vigorous and successful efforts to reduce Shuja-Daulah and for the further attention he has shewn to the Company's interest by co-operating with Lord Clive in the several important negotiations". (S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, p. 142); according to Marshman, the above victories "were scarcely less important to the interest of the Company than that of Plassey. They made the English masters of the entire valley of the Ganges from the Himalayas to the sea and placed the glorious Mughal Empire at their feet". For the account of the Buxar Battle, see also, *London Gazette*, 1765.

(15) S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, pp. 128-9.

(16) Vol. II, p. 585.

(17) "Her full name was Ammat-Uz-Zahra and she was the only legitimate daughter of the Nawab Mutaman-ud-Daula, Muhammed Isakh Khan, a Noble of the Court of the Emperor

wife is to her husband when in adversity. " That princess not only sent him without hesitation whatever money or jewels, gold or silver furniture which were in her possession, but she added to that offering whatever else she could obtain from the ladies of the seraglio, without sparing the very ring of her nose with its pearls". When strongly dissuaded by her people from so much self-denial, she, according to the *Scir-Mutaqherin*, returned to them the following noble answer: " That whatever she was possessed of was of use to her only so long her husband (Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah) was safe; and that if he should cease to be so, all her jewelleries and other precious things would also cease to be of use to herself; nor did she wish to use them on any other condition ". Captain J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, in his letter (18) to the Board, dated Lucknow, 31st July 1813, also testified to the invaluable help which the Imperial Consort of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah rendered to him after his disastrous defeats at Buxar and Jajmau. We find, however, from the following extracts from the letter (19) of Lord Clive to the Board, dated, Chapra, 11th June 1766, that Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah most honourably paid off the balance of the indemnity money to the Company on the morning of the 11th June 1766:—

" Shuja-ud-Daulah arrived here (Chapra) the 8th instant and this morning he discharged in money and bills, the balance of his obligation to the Company agreeably to the Treaty concluded at Allahabad on the 16th August 1765."

" Permit me gentlemen to congratulate you upon Shuja-ud-Daulah's faithful observance of the Treaty in this instance, which at the same time that it shews in the strongest light, his gratitude and equity of intention, leaves us no room for dispute with a power whose alliance may be so well depended upon and which will always do honour as well as real service to the Company." The Board in their reply (20) to Lord Clive, dated Fort William, 23rd June 1766, fully endorsed the opinion of Lord Clive.

Shuja-ud-Daulah never forgot his wife's kindness. It may be found from the records (21) that after such an experience of his Consort's attachment he conceived so high an opinion of her fidelity that he made it a practice to commit to her care whatever money came to his hand in presents or could

Muhammad Shah, whom he served in the capacity of *Dixani Khalsa* or Comptroller-General of the Public Revenues of the Empire" (Sec. Progs. Vol. 30th April 1813, paras. 2 and 3). " She was married to the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah in the year 1159 of the *Hejira* or 1746 A.D. Her marriage was an occasion for the display of uncommon splendour and extraordinary expense under the personal charge of the Emperor Muhammad Shah. Among the presents offered to the bride, there were a thousand cups of silver, weighing each, a hundred rupees. Moreover she was a recipient of a *jagir* which yielded an annual income of 9 *lakhs* of rupees. It is a fact worthy of note that more than two *crores* of rupees were spent on her marriage". Sec. Progs. Vol. 30th Apr. 1813, para. 5). She died at the ripe old age of 88 in the year 1816 A.D.

(18) Sec. Progs. Vol. 27 Aug. 1813 (para. 6).

(19) Pub. O. C. 23rd June 1766, No. 1.

(20) Pub. O. C. 23rd June 1766, No. 3.

(21) Sec. Progs. Vol. 30th April 1813 (Letter from J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, to J. Adam, Secretary, dated Lucknow, 15th April 1813).

be spared from necessary expenses ". He further went so far " as to place the seals of his government in her custody and allowed her to enjoy a perquisite derived from a tax of a twenty-fourth part of the yearly pay of every officer and soldier of cavalry. He also granted her an additional *jagir* in the extensive district of Conda. Her influence over her husband was so great that no one dared utter before her the names of his inferior wives or the names of his other sons except Asaf-ud-Daulah, her ownborn ". She was, indeed, a lady whom " no other woman in all the 32 *Subahs* of India could rival either in the grandeur of her surroundings or in the respect she could command ".

The records of the latter half of the eighteenth century show that many Europeans and the servants of the Company used to trade in Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah's dominions by virtue of a treaty concluded between him and Lord Clive at Cheeran Chapra (22). In them, it may be found that one James Nichol, in his letter (23) to the Board dated Gorakhpur, the 26th January 1767, requested permission to leave Calcutta and to settle as a merchant in the aforesaid Nawab's country. It may further be found from the Persian records (24) that the *gumashtas* of the Company used as well to trade there. As, however, their conduct became intolerable to the aforesaid Nawab, the Company recalled them and ordered them not to trade beyond the Karmanasa river. The result was that such merchandise, as broad-cloth, iron, copper and lead, which the Company imported into India during the years 1770-2 suffered a great set-back. The abolition of this trade deprived the Company of their profits; and the Company again approached the Nawab to induce him to allow the trade in those articles at least to go on within his dominions as before. " On other articles of the merchants ", the Company agreed " Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah could impose any reasonable duty he pleased ". It appears, however, from the Report (25) which Warren Hastings submitted to the Board from Fort William on the 4th October 1773, that Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah did not agree with the Company's proposal. The following important extract from the Report makes clear the position:—

" I had much conversation with *l'acir* concerning a free intercourse of commerce with his dominions, and recommended to him an establishment of customs similar to that which we (the Company) have lately adopted in Bengal, of which I gave him a plan and explanation in writing; but I found it impossible to convince him of the utility of either. He seemed confirmed in the persuasion that the current specie of this country would be drained by free trade with ours; that if the English *gumashtas* were authorised to reside there, they would exercise an authority prejudicial to his revenue, notwithstanding any regulations or restrictions of our Government and would involve him in disputes which might perhaps end in the ruin of his connexion with

(22) Letter from the Governor of Bengal to Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, dated 18th January 1772 (Persian Calendar, Vol. III, Letter No. 1021).

(23) Pub. O. C. 2nd March 1767, No. 1 (a).

(24) *Vide footnote* No. 22.

(25) S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, pp. 52-3.

the Company. I promised that no English gentleman should reside in his country, and that I would never interfere in any disputes between the English *gumashtas* and his people, which I left to be decided by his officers, who might exercise the same authority over them as over his own subjects. As I found it impossible to overcome his objections, and I learned that Mirzapore was the mart from which not only his dominions but all the interior parts of Hindusthan were supplied with goods from Bengal, I judged it improper to press him any further to agree to innovations so much against his will, when I could effect the same purposes by an agreement with Raja Chait Singh of Benares to whom the town of Mirzapore belongs, as well as all the intermediate country from the borders of Behar. I informed him of my intention to which he said he had no objection. I accordingly settled with the Raja Chait Singh that the articles of broad-cloth, copper and lead, should pass duty free through his territories to Mirzapore".

On the 8th September 1773, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah entered into another Treaty with the Company at Benares. We find from the Records (26) that the Treaty was the result of an interview which Lord Clive had with the Nawab at that city. According to it "the monthly subsidy for the extraordinary expense of the Company's troops employed in the aid of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah was fixed at the sum of 21,000 rupees for one Brigade and the Provinces of Cora and Allahabad which was originally ceded to the Emperor Shah Alum, were to be transferred to him for the sum of 50 *lakhs* of rupees of which 20 *lakhs* were to be immediately due and were accordingly paid; 15 *lakhs* were to be paid at the expiration of a year and the remaining 15 at the expiration of two years".

The last important event which marked the closing year of his life was the Rohilla War. The Foreign Department records preserved in the Imperial Record Department give a full account. The following important points (27) contained therein cannot be overlooked:—"Just after the conclusion of the Benares Treaty on the 9th September 1773, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah solicited the aid of the Company's troops to reduce the Rohilla country, lying on the north of his dominions between the Ganges and the mountains of Tibet. For this service he engaged to pay the Company, besides the stipulated monthly subsidy, 40 *lakhs* of rupees when the war should be concluded. The immediate plea for these hostilities was the breach of faith, with which the Rohilla Chiefs were charged in the supplies of money afforded by them to the Mahrattas, against whom they had solicited and obtained Shuja-ud-Daulah's assistance under a solemn engagement to pay him 40 *lakhs*

(26) S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 116; Letter from Warren Hastings to the Members of the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Benares, 17th September 1773, gives a full account of this Treaty. (S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 44). This treaty was signed, sealed and solemnly sworn to by the contracting parties at Benares in the presence of J. Stewart and W. Redfearn. (*Ibid.* p. 55).

(27) S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 116; in connection with this war, the letter of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah to the Board (received by them on the 18th November 1773) is interesting. (S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 76).

of rupees on the departure of the Mahrattas and for refusing afterwards to fulfil that engagement. Shuja-ud-Daulah's request was granted. The 2nd Brigade was ordered on service, and Colonel A. Champion, the provisional Commander-in-Chief, appointed in command. Having been joined by Shuja-ud-Daulah and his troops, he entered the Rohilla borders on the 17th April 1774 and on the 23rd of the same month (the 11th *Safar*) attacked and defeated Hafiz Rahmat Khan, their leader, after three hours' fighting. Hafiz Rahmat, who showed prodigies of valour, was killed by a cannon-ball and much booty fell into the hands of the conquering army. The victory was decisive; no other enemy appeared in the field; and Shuja-ud-Daulah obtained possession of the greatest part of the Rohilla country". Though in this war General Champion and his English troops "behaved (28) with great spirit and activity", yet Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah complained (29) to Warren Hastings on the 23rd May 1774, that the British troops behaved unseemly in the town of Pilibhit. The paper says that "they entered the city and committed outrages and violence on the inhabitants." When Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah remonstrated against the conduct of the English soldiers, General Champion replied, "as there were 4 *crores* of rupees in the city, his troops wanted a share of the same; and that if they were withdrawn they would plunder the whole of the Rohilkhund country". Under the circumstances nothing now remained for Shuja-ud-Daulah, save to appeal to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, to see for himself, "whether there is any justification for such conduct on the part of the English Officers in view of the agreement made between him and the Company for the expedition". Colonel Champion styles the above statements of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah against the English soldiers as "infamous untruths"; but the following extract from the letter (30) of General J. Clavering, Colonel G. Monson and Mr. P. Francis to the Court of Directors dated the 30th November 1774 may be quoted:—

"The fatal consequence of indulging troops with the hopes of plunder have been too often exemplified in this country. The Rohilla War with respect to the share we took in it had no other object; and to judge from the correspondence which has been laid before us it should seem that plunder had engrossed the attention not only of this Government but of the army from the commencement of the campaign to the end of it. We do not mean to intimate the most distant reflection on the conduct of the Brigade, far otherwise. We mean to fix our censure upon the Government, which unnecessarily employs their military force on service which of course suggest hopes of expectations utterly unfit to be proposed to or entertained by a regular army". It should however be remembered that the writers of this letter regarded Warren Hastings as a monster of iniquity whom it was the part of virtue to censure and oppose.

(28) Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, letter No. 1008.

(29) *Ibid*, letter No. 1036.

(30) S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, pp. 201-2.

From the records, it may be further found that the British intervention in the Rohilla War was also highly disapproved by the Court of Directors at home. In their letter (31) of the 3rd March 1774 they wrote indignantly:—"Notwithstanding the pecuniary advantages which the Company have gained by the event, we are exceedingly concerned to find that our arms have been employed in the conquest of the Rohillas; that we fear that in a political view, the late engagements with Shuja-ud-Daulah are not altogether unexceptionable; and we absolutely prohibit this Government from employing their troops on such expeditions on any pretence whatsoever." These terms, however, are moderate in comparison with the condemnation which the Court passed on the Rohilla War in their letter of the 7th March 1774. The extract runs:—"It is a measure repugnant to every idea of sound policy. We order the troops to be forthwith recalled and positively direct that we never more consent to employ them beyond the limits of our own provinces, or those of our Ally, whom we are obliged by treaty to defend against actual invasions". This is certainly language which no sophistry can interpret into an approbation of the measure taken by the Company in the Rohilla War.

After his victory in the Rohilla War, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah turned his thoughts entirely towards bringing into order and submission the country of the Rohillas and towards incorporating his conquests with his hereditary dominion. But he had but few months more to live.

An account of his death which is collected partly from the information given in the records and partly from the *Scir Mutaqherin* will be read with pathetic interest:—When Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah was busy with consolidating his Empire after the Rohilla War, "an eruption appeared on his body. At first he took no notice of it; nevertheless the sore increased and baffled all the power of physic and skill of surgeons. Shuja-ud-Daulah himself, was astonished at the declining state of his health and resolved to return to Faizabad* where he had built a palace. Arrived there he expected some benefit from the change of air, but he became worse and worse still. He now called to his assistance some English surgeons who spared no care or attention, but all to no purpose. He was informed that he had but a few hours to live. Calmly sending for his mother, wife and relations, he solemnly pronounced his profession of faith and asked their pardon. On Thursday, the 26th January, 1775 at 6 in the morning (the 22nd of the *Zilcaud* 1188 of the *Hejira*) Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah peacefully passed away. An hour later Colonel P. Gailliez wrote a letter (32) to the Board informing them of his death. This letter was received by them on the night of the 5th February

(31) S. S. C. Progs. Vol. II, p. 506.

*"Faizabad rose to a height of unparalleled prosperity under Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah and almost rivalled Delhi in magnificence. It was full of merchants from Persia, China and Europe and money flowed like water; the population had increased enormously and had spread beyond the fortifications and many of the nobles were residing as far as Raunahi on the West. After the death of Shuja-ud-Daulah the city fell into rapid decay". (*Faizabad Gazetteer* by H. R. Nevill, I.C.S.)

(32) S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 208.

1775 and was immediately sent in circulation among the Members. It runs thus:—

“Hon’ble Sir and Sirs,—It is with the utmost concern I inform you of the death of the *Vazir*, who departed this life an hour ago. Mr. Campbell and Captain Stuart attended and dressed him till he died, but for two days past he took no medicine inwardly from them. The mother and the rest of his family about him in their too great anxiety would not admit of anything but from themselves to be administered to him.

“His eldest son and presumptive successor, the Nabob Mirza Amanny (Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah), has applied to me for support in his just rights and my assistance with the troops if necessary, which I have assured him of, until I am honoured with your commands and instructions for my guidance on this occasion. I shall, therefore, remain here and give him every assistance and protection to the family, in my power.”

* * * * *

I have the honour to be,
with highest respect, etc.”
(Sd.) P. GAILLIEZ.

FAIZABAD,
The 26th January 1775,
at 7 in the morning.

The news of the death of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, inspite of his “strange character”, filled the whole city of Faizabad with sorrow and grief. Even Mahabat Khan, the eldest son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan (whose family was ruined by him) on seeing the corpse passing by, “could not contain himself, but shed a flood of tears”. He further said “that the whole city of Faizabad on that day was in that state, no face being met with that was not bathed in tears”. Major A. Polier who was an eye-witness to the funeral scene thus speaks of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah and of the effect which his death produced on the mind of the populace in his letter (33) to the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) dated Faizabad, the 26th January, 1775: “It is difficult to find words to express the sorrow and grief of almost all his attendants and in general of every inhabitant of this place at his death which makes in my opinion no bad apology of a prince who with many faults and foibles must yet be acknowledged to have been not only the first and the greatest man in Hindusthan but also endowed with many good and worthy qualities”. In another letter of the same date written at half-past 7 p.m. he says:—“My heart is too full to say anything further on this subject (Shuja-ud-Daulah’s last request) but he is no more”.

His body having been washed, purified and wrapped up in a winding-sheet, it was taken up by Mirza Ali Khan and Salar Jung, his Consort’s brothers, who, together with the principal grantees of the Court and Officers

of the Army and the most eminent men of the city, carried it by turns on their shoulders, all the while preceded and followed by an immense retinue of his horses, elephants and his whole household as also by crowds of people that had been attached to his person. At last the convoy reached *Gulab Bagh*, four miles distant from Faizabad, where his body was entombed.

From the letter (34) of Bahu Begam to Warren Hastings, Governor-General, dated the 22nd March 1775, we find that very soon after her husband's death she earnestly solicited his help to take the body of her husband to Karbala according to his "dying injunctions." In this letter she strongly refuted the charge brought against her by some malicious people that "she is trying to get out of her present insecure position and leave Hindusthan with her wealth under the cloak of a religious duty." She further strongly asserted that "whatever fortune she had, was spent in helping her husband after the Buxar disaster and that her other income was also considerable". However, Warren Hastings, in his letter (35) to her, dated the 25th March 1775, "agreed to offer her every assistance" but warned her that "owing to manifold difficulties and dangers of the passage she should not undertake the voyage to Karbala for the present". Between the 8th and 31st May 1775, further correspondence (36) on this subject passed between her and the Governor-General. At last we find from her letter (37) to him, dated—(nil) September 1775, "that she abandoned her idea of going to Karbala for the present", but she hoped "that the English authorities at Lucknow would assist her when she would undertake the journey in future". We learn on the authority of the *Tarikh Farahbaksh** that when Bahu Begum was in her death-bed (in the year 1816), she saw in her delirium, the shadowy figure of her husband and she repeatedly told her faithful Minister, Darab Ali Khan, who was in attendance: "Darab! The Great Nawab has come to take me".

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

(34) Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, letter No. 1655.

(35) *Ibid* Vol. IV, letter No. 1659.

(36) *Ibid*, letter Nos. 1747 and 1824.

(37) *Ibid*, letter No. 1922.

*A Persian work by Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh translated into English by W. Hoey.

Hindoos in Armenia.

150 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST.

(An Unknown Chapter in the History of Ancient India.)

IT may not be generally known that the Armenians—Sons of a noble but ill-fated fatherland—whose love of commerce has been proverbial, have, from time immemorial, traded with India, whither they were allured from their distant homes in the snow-clad mountains of Armenia, by the glamour of the lucrative trade in spices, muslins and precious stones, which they carried on successfully with Europe by the overland route, through Afghanistan, Persia, and Armenia, *via*. Trebizond, long before the advent of any European traders, adventurers and interlopers into the country. And it may be safely mentioned that even before the Mohammedan invasion of India in the 10th century, the Armenians were found at all the principal commercial centres and capitals of India engaged in the peaceful pursuit of commerce.

It would be interesting, however, from a historical point of view, to trace in what period of the world's history Armenians first set foot on Indian soil.*

We search in vain the faded pages of Sanskrit writers and Mohammedan chroniclers of ancient times for any reference to this enterprising, commercial people in India. They were hardly interested in politics, and rarely took part in intrigues, their field of action lay, rather, in the bazaars, the commercial marts, and the emporiums of India, over which they exercised vast influence, in the absence of any foreign commercial element, and thereby monopolised the greater portion of the export trade, which they carried on for a considerable period.

The writer ventures to assume, after much careful study and antiquarian research, that they were acquainted with India from remote antiquity, perhaps even when Semiramis, the wife of Ninus, and the warlike queen of the once-powerful Assyrian monarchy, reigned supreme in Babylon. Contemporary as a nation with the Assyrians, it is not improbable that they accompanied Semiramis, as faithful allies, in her invasion of India, which, according to the account given by Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus, was undertaken about the year 2000 B.C., when one Stabrobates (Sthabarpatri) held indisputable sway over India of the Vedic times. Armenians, as allies or otherwise, may have accompanied the Greek invasion of India in 327 B.C., under Alexander the Great; for it is a well-known historical fact that he passed through Armenia,

* For a fuller account of the advent of the Armenians into this country, see the "*History of the Armenians in India*" by the present writer.

en route for India, *via*. Persia, where he defeated the famous Darius, the Persian King, who resided at Persopolis, the capital of unparalleled architectural fame at that period.

But it may be asked, what have the Armenian historians to say on the subject. Unfortunately the annals of ancient Armenia which were carefully preserved in the temples of pre-Christian Armenia and which could have thrown light on the subject were destroyed entirely, by St. Gregory, the apostle of Armenia, known as the Illuminator, in the beginning of the 4th Century of the Christian era when by virtue of a royal edict granted to St. Gregory, by that zealous neophyte, King Tiridates, Armenia embraced the Christian faith *en masse*, and the Armenians thus became the *first* Christian nation in the world.

The *first* authentic record we have of the connection of the Armenians with India is to be found in the work of Zenob, one of the earliest classical writers who flourished in Christian Armenia in the beginning of the 4th Century.

Zenob, or Zenobias, who was a Syrian and one of the *first* disciples of St. Gregory the Illuminator—the Apostle of Armenia—wrote, at the instance of his master, a “History of Taron” (an important province in Armenia) and in that work he refers to the history of a Hindoo colony that had existed in Armenia since the middle of the second century before the commencement of the Christian era till the beginning of the 4th century, A. D. or a period of 450 years. And this is how the Hindoo colony came to be planted on Armenian soil in the days of remote antiquity. It appears from Zenob’s account that two Hindoo Princes of far-famed Kanauj,* named Gisaneh and Demeter, had conspired against Dinakspall, the King of Kanauj, and on the discovery of the plot, which spelt death for the two princes, they had no alternative but to seek refuge in flight, and to far-off Armenia they fled, and there they not only found an asylum, but were accorded a welcome befitting

* Kanauj, a decayed town of historical interest, is situated on the Kallee Nuddee, a river in the district of Farruckabad, which falls into the Ganges three miles below. It lies 52 miles N. W. from Cawnpore. This once-celebrated town, which, according to the Mohammedan historian Ferishta, “contained 30,000 shops for the sale of paun (betel-leaf) and 60,000 families of public dancers and singers”, is at present an insignificant place, little more than an expanse of ruins. In its palmy days, according to a learned writer, “the circumvallation covered a space of more than thirty miles”. So remote is its antiquity, that some relics of its language, found on coins, etc., baffled the skill of that learned oriental scholar and antiquarian, the late Mr. James Prinsep, in his attempts to decipher them; “the characters,” he says, “in which their legends are graven being wholly unknown”. This town of ancient India has not unlike Delhi, experienced great vicissitudes, having been taken successively by the Mohammedan invaders. Mahmood of Ghaznee took the town in 1018, and it was attacked by Shahabuddin Mohammed, sovereign of Ghoor, in 1194, when he defeated Jye Chund Ray, the Hindoo king of Kanauj, and overthrew that monarchy. In 1340 it was taken by the tyrant Mahommed, of the house of Tughlak, who “made an excursion towards Kanauj, and put to death the inhabitants of that city and the neighbourhood for many miles round.” It fell into the hands of Baber in 1528, and it was here that Humayon, his son and successor, was defeated, in 1540, by his formidable rival, the Afghan Sher Shah, when he was obliged to fly from Hindustan and seek an asylum at the court of Shah Thahmas, the Persian king, who resided at Ispahan, the former capital of Persia.

their princely dignity by their royal patron, King Valarsaces (a brother of Arsaces the Great) and the founder of the Arsacidæ dynasty which ruled in Armenia from 149 B.C. to 428 A. D.

This event occurred in 149 B.C. The Armenian King, who was evidently pleased with the Hindoo refugees, allotted them the province of Taron where they built themselves a nice city which they called VEESHAP, which in Armenian means a DRAGON, since they were of the Takshak House, which, as every student of Hindoo Mythology knows, signifies the Dragon. They then went to the Armenian city of Ashtishat, famous for its temples of the national gods and goddesses of heathen Armenia and there they set up the gods which they had worshipped in India. They were not however destined to enjoy a long period of undisturbed peace and freedom in the land of their adoption, for they were, 15 years after their arrival in Armenia, put to death by the king for which no reasons or motives are assigned by the native historian, perhaps they had, as in India, hatched a conspiracy against their royal patron or abused his hospitality, hence the condign punishment meted out to them by the Armenian king. After their death, these two Hindoo princes, were deified by their descendants, for they must have gone to Armenia with their families and a large retinue, as future events will prove. According to the Armenian historian, these two princes left three sons whose names were Kuars, Meghtes and Horean, and the Armenian king, bestowed on them the Government of the colony and the principality of the province of Taron.

Kuars built a small city and called it Kuar after his own name. Meghtes similarly built a small city and named it Meghti after himself, whilst Horean built his city in the province of Paloonean and called it Horeans.

Being new to the country, they were evidently not satisfied with the first selection of sites for their habitations, so after some time they resolved amongst themselves to find fresh fields and pastures new, so they went to the mountain called Kharkh and finding it an ideal place by reason of its beautiful and favourable situation, they built themselves a city where they put up two gods, and named them Gisanch and Demeter, after their murdered fathers whom they had deified. These gods were made entirely of brass, the former, according to Zenob, was twelve cubits high, and the latter fifteen cubits and the priests that were appointed for the service of these gods were all Hindoos. Under the auspices of a heathen Government, in whose eyes they had evidently found great favour, the Hindoo colony flourished for a considerable time in Armenia, but with the dawn of Christianity in idolatrous Armenia in the year 301 A.D. the tide of royal kindness began to ebb and ebb very swiftly, for the Indian gods shared the fate of the national gods and goddesses, which were destroyed by that relentless iconoclast, St. Gregory the Illuminator, who had the famous temples of Gisanch and Demeter razed to the ground, the images broken to pieces whilst the Hindoo priests who offered resistance were murdered on the spot, as faithfully chronicled by Zenob who was an eye-witness of the destruction of the Hindoo temples and

the gods. On the site of these two temples, St. Gregory had a monastery erected where he deposited the relics of St. John the Baptist and Athanagineh the martyr which he had brought with him from Ceaseria, and that sacred edifice, which was erected in the year 301 A.D., exists to this day and is known as St. Carapiet of Moosh and has always been a great place of pilgrimage for Armenians from all parts of the world. The Hindoo priests attached to the temples of Gisaneh and Demeter, seeing the destruction of their national gods and their temples, with tears in their eyes entreated the victorious Armenians, their erstwhile brother idolators, to put them to death rather than destroy their mighty god Gisaneh, and for the resistance that they offered to the victors, six of the Hindoo priests were killed on the spot. On the restoration of peace between the Armenians and the Hindoos, the Armenian prince of the house of Siunics proceeded to the Hindoo village of Kuars and succeeded in persuading the inhabitants of that place to renounce idolatry and embrace the Christian faith which had now become the State religion. His efforts were crowned with success and they were duly prepared for baptism, and being conducted to the valley of Ayzasan they were baptised there by St. Gregory. According to Zenob, who as I have said, was a disciple of the Apostle of Armenia, and an eye-witness of the events he narrates, the Hindoos that were baptised on the first day of Navasard, (the ancient Armenian New Years day) numbered 5,050 and these were composed of men and children only, as the females were, it appears, excluded from that number and baptised on another day specially appointed for the occasion.

Some of these converted Hindoos adhered tenaciously to the idolatrous practices of their forefathers, despite the paternal persuasions and the exhortations of St. Gregory. They went even further and taunted the Armenian princes by telling them that if they lived they would retaliate for the harsh treatment they had received at their hands, but if they died, the gods would wreak their vengeance on the Armenians on their behalf. At this the prince of the house of Angegh ordered them to be taken immediately to the city of Phaitakaran where they were incarcerated and their heads shaved as an insult and a sign of degradation. These prisoners numbered four hundred. From the narrative of Zenob, the Syrian, it appears that the Hindoo colony had, since their settlement in Armenia in the year 150 B.C. to the day of that memorable battle in the year 301 A.D. a period of 450 years, multiplied and increased considerably and formed a distinct and an important colony of their own in the fertile province of Taron where in the year 286 A.D. a Chinese colony had also settled under Mamgoon, the founder of the house of Mamikonian which gave a Vardan to Armenia who fought the Sassanians when they wanted to force the religion of Zoroaster on Christian Armenia in the year 451 A.D. The Hindoos, who up to the advent of Christianity in Armenia had remained a distinct community became gradually merged into the native Christian population, as no reference is made to them by any of the Armenian historians who came after Zenob, who, as has been stated before, flourished in the beginning of the 4th century.

Having given a brief out-line of the history of the Hindoo colony in Armenia, I shall now give some interesting extracts from the narrative of Zenob. It may be mentioned that Zenob who was a Syrian wrote his work originally in Syriac, but it must have been translated by him afterwards into Armenian, with Syriac characters of course, as there were no Armenian characters then, for the present Armenian alphabet was invented in the year 413 by St. Mesroby, who in collaboration with St. Sahak, translated the Holy Bible into Armenian from the original Syriac and Greek texts and which by reason of its faithful rendering and elegant style has justly been pronounced by eminent European savants as the "Queen of all Versions" (*Regina Versionum*).

The Armenian text of Zenob's work in classical Armenian from which the following extracts are translated, was printed first at Venice in 1832 by the learned Mekhitharist* Fathers, after a very careful collation with five manuscript copies written at different periods and in different places. The first portion of the narrative gives a description of the Hindoo colony and it is followed by a graphic account of the religious wars that were waged between the Hindoos and the early propagators of the Christian faith in idolatrous Armenia in the beginning of the 4th century. And this is how Zenob, the Syrian, describes the Hindoos whom he sees for the *first* time on his arrival in Armenia, with St. Gregory, the Illuminator, in the year 301 A.D.

"This people had a most extraordinary appearance for they were black, long-haired and unpleasant to the sight, as they were Hindoos by race.

The origin of the idols which were in this place, is this: DEMETER and GISANEH were brothers and they were both Indian princes. They had conspired against Dinaksi, their King, who being apprised, sent troops after them either to put them to death or to banish them from the country. Having narrowly escaped, they fled to King Valarsaces who bestowed on them the principality of the district of Taron where they built a city and called it Veeshap.

They afterwards went to the city of Ashtishat and there set up idols in the names of those which they had worshipped in India. After fifteen years the King put both the brothers to death, I do not know why, and conferred the principality on their three sons, Kuars, Meghtes and Horean. Kuars built the city of Kuars, Meghtes built a village on the plain and called it Meghti, and Horean built a village in the province of Paloonies and called it Horeans.

After some time, Kuars, Meghtes and Horean, resolved to go to the mountain called Kharkhi, and they found the place to be salubrious and beautiful, for it was cool, and abounded in game, grass and wood. There they raised edifices and set up two idols, one in the name of GISANEH and the other in the name of DEMETER and appointed attendants for them from their own race.

* See the "Society of Mekhitar" by the present writer.

Gisaneh had long flowing hair and for that reason its priests allowed the hair of their head to grow, which the King ordered to be cut. This people were not, however, perfect in their faith after their conversion into the Christian faith and as they could not profess the religion of their pagan ancestors openly, they therefore practised the deception of allowing their children to grow a plait of hair on the crown of their heads, so that they may, by seeing that, remember their idolatrous abominations."

In the course of their journey through Armenia Zenob gives the following account of the war that was waged between the Hindoos and Armenians in the year 301 A.D.

"And having taken our departure from there (Thordan) we intended to proceed to Karin and Harkh, but some of the Armenian princes informed St. Gregory of the existence of two temples in the province of Taron which still offered sacrifices to the devils, whereupon he resolved to demolish them. Having arrived in the country of the Paloonies, in the extensive village, called Gisaneh, near the village town of Kuars, we met there some of the heathen priests. Having ascertained from the Hindoo prince of Hashtens that the great images of Gisaneh and Demeter were to be levelled to the ground on the following day, they (Hindoos) repaired to the temples in the dead of the night and removed the treasures and filled them into subterraneous houses.

They then sent intimation to the heathen priests at Ashtishat urging them to collect warriors and join them early on the morrow as the great Gisaneh was going to give battle to the apostate princes (Armenians). In like manner they put up the inhabitants of Kuars to lie in ambush in the hedges of the gardens and some were sent to waylay Christians in the forests. The head priest whose name was Artzan (Arjun) and his son Demeter took the command of the troops who were stationed at Kuars and numbered 400, and having ascended the hill that was opposite Kuars, they halted there, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements from other places to their aid. On the following day, they descended to the skirts of the mountains to indulge in their usual habit of pillage. St. Gregory accompanied by the prince of Artzroonies, the prince of Andzevatzies and the prince of the house of Angegh and with a small number of troops numbering about three hundred, ascended the mountain in the third hour of the day, where Artzan lay in ambush. They were going carelessly as they never suspected anything and as they approached the acclivity of the mountain, Artzan and Demeter rushed out of their ambuscade when the trumpets of war were sounded and they were attacked most furiously. The princes having heard this, became restless and alarmed, for their horses took fright from the sound of the trumpets and began to neigh and thus excite war, whereupon the prince of the house of Angegh raised his voice and cried, "Prince of Siunies, step forward and see perhaps these are the troops of the prince of the north." He went, but could not ascertain who they were. On his return, the prince of the Siunies said "remove St. Gregory and his companions to a safe place lest they may be captured by th^e enemy and we will then be disgraced before the King."

"Send a trusty person," he added, "to recall our troops, for it is going to be a great war and many are the flags which are seen waving."

The prince of the house of Angegh, then entrusted St. Gregory into the hands of the prince of Mocks enjoining him to take him immediately to the Castle of Oghkan and await developments, and forthwith sent intimation to the troops. The prince of the Mocks, accompanied by St. Gregory descended the declivity of the hill wishing to go to Kuars, but the people of the place began to block the way. Seeing that there was great danger in the place, St. Gregory hid the relics which he had with him near a spring on the other side of the hill, opposite the village, marking the spot and God covered the relics and nobody could see them till the return of St. Gregory to that spot afterwards. We were, however, pursued by the men of the village, but being mounted on our horses, we took refuge in the Castle of Oghkan where we reached before them as the men of the place came forward and took us in. The villagers (Hindoos) then went to Kuars and informed the people there about us. Hearing this they came and began to besiege the castle. Being seized with apprehensions we immediately despatched a messenger with a letter to the prince of the house of Angegh informing him of the state of affairs. He immediately sent four thousand picked men furnished with swords who crossed the river and arrived on the following day. They laid siege to the city of Kuars for three days and having demolished the ramparts, they reduced the place to ruins and the inhabitants were conducted to Meghtes.

The Armenian princes being informed of this, ascended the hill and saw Artzan lying in ambush with about four hundred men. The brave princes made an attack immediately and were putting him to flight when the Armenian troops, hearing the din of the battle, crowded immediately to the mountain whereupon Artzan rallied and began to hurl abuses on the Armenian princes. "Come forward," he said, "O you base apostates who have denied the gods of your ancestors and are the enemies of the glorious Gisaneh. Do you not know that it is Gisaneh who is waging war against you to-day and will betray you into our hands and strike you with blindness and death." At this the prince of the Ardzunies rushed forward and said "Oh you braggart, if you are fighting for your gods, you are false, and if it is for your country, you are altogether foolish for behold the prince of the house of Angegh and the prince of the house of Siunies and the other nobles whom you know but too well." To which, Demeter, the son of Artzan replied thus. "Listen unto us O you Armenian princes, it is now forty years since we are engaged in the service of the mighty gods and we are aware of their powers, for they fight themselves with the enemies of their servants. We are not, however, able to oppose you in battle for this is the house of the king of Armenia and you are his nobles, but let it be known to you all that although we cannot possibly conquer you, yet it is better for us to die a glorious death to-day in upholding the honour of our gods rather than live and see their temples polluted by you. Death is, therefore, more

welcome to us than life. But you, who are the prince of the house of Angegh come forward and let us fight singly."

The prince of the house of Angegh and Artzan having come forward, they commenced going round each other, when Artzan with his spear inflicted hurriedly a wound on his opponent's thigh and well-nigh brought him to the ground. But the prince of the house of Angegh having regained his position, turned towards the antagonist and addressed him thus. "Know you this O Artzan that this place will be called Artzan (the Armenian word for a statue) for you are destined to be fixed here like a statue. And having lifted his arm, he severed his neck together with the left shoulder and leg from the body by a stroke of the sword on the right shoulder. Artzan fell to the ground rolling and they collected a heap over him and he lies buried in the same place and the mount is to this day called Artzan.

Immediately after the action the troops of the priests arrived from the city of Veeshap together with the people of Partukh and Meghti and they all crowded to the field of battle. Others came from Astaghon also and their number was, as they themselves said afterwards, five thousand four hundred and fifty. When they arrived at the summit of the mountain, there was a commotion on both sides and the heathen priests made an attack, *en masse*, on the Armenian troops and putting them to flight made them descend the mountain and fly towards the villages. The villagers who were laying in ambush, opposed our troops and hemming them on both sides began to put them to the sword. But the prince of the house of Angegh, having cut through the ranks of the heathen (Hindoo) priests, directed his course towards the mountain, from the back, where some men were kept in reserve on the top who caused great havoc by flinging stones at our horses. But when Demeter observed the prince of the house of Angegh ascending the hill, he left the troops behind and followed him, so did the other troops who were mounted on horses.

When they went up the hill, the battle was resumed. Our princes were waiting for further re-inforcements since all the troops had not assembled there yet, as four thousand were left in charge of the prisoners at Meghti and three thousand proceeded to Bassean and Harkh. The rest were still in the field pillaging and marauding. And when they were about to commence the battle and exchange decisive blows, night approached and they encamped in the place until the following morning. At dawn, the remaining Armenian troops arrived there and a re-inforcement of about five hundred men from the city of Tirakatar came to the assistance of the heathen priests. The numbers on both sides were thus increased. The heathens numbered six thousand nine hundred and forty six whilst the troops of the Armenian princes were in all five thousand and eighty.

The trumpets were sounded and both sides arranged themselves in battle. At the commencement the Armenians proved victorious over the heathens, but the prince of Hashtens who was now in command of the Armenian troops although of the same (Hindoo) race as Demeter, deserted and joined the heathen priests with seven hundred men and commenced

fighting the Armenian princes. When the Armenian troops saw him, they were dismayed and fell to the ground for he was a brave man of extraordinary prowess, of indomitable courage and of vast experience in warfare and military operations which made all the Armenian princes tremble before him. He commenced the onslaught relentlessly and all the troops cried out and appealed to the prince of the Siunies for help whereupon he called out to him (the prince of Hashtens) saying, "you whelp of a wolf! You have remembered the nature of your father and delight in feasting on carrion." The rebel chief retorted by saying tauntingly "You offspring of an eagle, you who boast on the powers of your wings, but if you ever fall into my trap, I shall then show you my strength." The prince of the Siunies could not brook this taunt and rushing on him furiously, struck him on the helmet with his axe and having dislodged him from his troops by driving him to some distance, pursued him to the mountain eastwards. Having chased him to the place known as the Innaknian, (nine springs) he threw him down by a violent shove from his horse and having alighted, he severed his head from the body and dropped it down the mountain saying, "now let the vultures see you and know that the eagle has killed the hare." The prince of the Siunies returned to the army immediately after this and the place where the rebel prince of Hashtens fell, is to this day called the "Eagles."

The prince of the Ardzroonies then attacked the head priest of Ashtishat whose name was Metakes whom he pursued to the summit of the mountain which commanded a view of the battle. When he reached there, Metakes made a violent resistance and struck him on the thigh. The Armenian prince, burning with rage, struck him immediately with his scimitar on the neck which he severed from the body. He then threw down the headless body and the place where the deed was committed was called Metsakogh.

The prince of Arjootz (Hindoo) seeing this, took refuge in flight and concealed himself in the same place which the prince of Ardzroonies pretended not to have observed. He then approached the fugitive and attacked him suddenly but he fled into the forest where a sharp piece of wood from the branch of a tree passed through his heart and liver and he died on the spot. The victor returned with the two horses and the place was called the vale of Arjootz.

After his return, he found that Demeter and the prince of the house of Angegh were wrestling with each other. Having made a rush he cut off the right shoulder of the former and threw him down. He then severed the head and throwing it into his knapsack, went away. The Armenians having attacked the heathen army furiously, put one thousand and thirty eight of them to the sword and the rest were stripped of all they possessed. In this battle Demeter killed the son of the prince of Mocks which caused great sorrow amongst the Armenian princes. When Demeter fell in the battle, the prince of the Siunies sounded the trumpet of peace and both sides stopped slaughtering each other. The surviving heathen priests seeing this, solicited the Armenian princes to give them permission to bury their dead

which was readily granted. The killed on both sides were then collected and buried in pits dug for the purpose. Monuments were then raised over their graves bearing the following inscription, in Syrian, Hellenic and Ismaelitish Characters.

THE FIRST BATTLE WHICH WAS FOUGHT VERY FIERCELY. ARTZAN THE HEAD PRIEST, THE CHIEF COMMANDER OF THE BATTLE LIES INTERRED HERE, AND WITH HIM ONE THOUSAND AND THIRTY EIGHT MEN.

WE WAGED THIS WAR ON ACCOUNT OF THE IDOL GISANEH AND ON BEHALF OF CHRIST.

Note.—Some of the important Hindoo names, as mentioned by Zenob in the course of his narrative, may be identified as follows:—

Gisaneh may have been the corrupt form of Krishna, and Demeter the Hellenised form of Juggernath or Gonesh, which according to Hindoo mythology, are the lords of earth and of creation. Similarly, Kuars may be identified with Koilash, Meghtes with Mukti, Horean with Horendra and Artzan with Arjun, all of which are genuine Hindoo names of Ancient India.

MESROVB J. SETH.

Our Library Table.

John Company: by Sir William Foster, C.I.E.; with Twenty-four Illustrations: London, John Lane, Ltd.: Twelve Shillings and Six Pence net.

MOST people who read and enjoyed Sir William Foster's book on "The East India House" must have laid down the volume with a pleasant anticipation of more good things to come. They have not been disappointed: and although there are many good things in "John Company", we fancy that the author's treasure-chest is even now not yet exhausted.

As Sir William Foster says in his preface, his main task has been to complete his account of the domestic history of John Company before his removal to his permanent home in Leadenhall Street. We see him as a young man just starting in business, with a few rooms in Philpot Lane: and we follow him through his career until as a prosperous merchant he rents Crosby House in Bishopsgate which was then one of the finest residences in the city. We get a glimpse of him also as a shipbuilder at Blackwall, in days when the East India Docks had not yet been thought of: and we learn something of the hospital and chapel which he built in Poplar. Lastly, an interesting account is given of the India Board which kept him in order when he ceased to be a merchant and began to be a territorial magnate.

The subjects discussed in the sixteen chapters are of the most various kinds: and there is something for every taste. We learn, for example, that the strange waterfowl which attract so much attention on the lake in St. James's Park opposite the India Office are, many of them, descended from the birds which Charles the Second fed with his own hand, and of which John Evelyn gives a lively account in his diary. These were in many cases the gift of the East India Company, and several letters are quoted. Nor were larger animals wanting, such as elephants and a rhinoceros. Sir Thomas Roe presented James the First with two antelopes: and in 1620 some factors at Patna send home "a cupell of pratlinge birds, called mynnas." Later on, in 1660 and 1661, and again in 1676 and 1677, the Company's servants at Surat and Madras are ordered to provide rare beasts and birds for the royal collection.

A chapter is devoted to the doings in London of the two ambassadors who came over from Bantam in Java in 1682; and who were knighted by the King, under the names of Sir Abdul and Sir Ahmad. Fifty-six years earlier (in 1626), there arrived a Persian ambassador who returned with Sir Dodmore Cotton as English envoy. Leaving behind one of his suite who died in London and was buried just outside the western boundary of the lower churchyard of St. Botolph Bishopsgate in a grave which is pictured in Strype's edition of Stow (1720) but which has now disappeared.

An interesting account is given of John Woodall the Company's first Surgeon-General who died in 1643, having in 1617 published a small quarto. *The Surgeon's Mate*, from which we learn that the ship's doctors of those days were expected to be dentists and barbers as well.

For a reason which will appear, we cannot omit mention of the chapter on "Tait's", the Anglo-Indian Boarding-School at Bromley-by-Bow, which Lord Metcalfe attended as a boy. Sir William Foster has examined the educational certificates which were required as annexures to "writers' petitions" and has made an interesting discovery. Thomas Tait is revealed as vouching for the attainments of Richard Chichele Plowden in 1798, of Isaac Henry Townley Roberdeau in 1799 and of Trevor John Chichele Plowden the first in 1801. Roberdeau it will be remembered, was the author of the sketch of life in Bengal in 1805 which was published in Vol. XXIX of this journal: and had a brother Thomas, who followed him as a writer in 1804. They were the sons of Mr. Roberdeau of Bath, and nephews of Alderman Paul Le Mesurier, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1794, and a Director of the Company from 1784 to 1802 and again in 1805. In his *Life of Metcalfe*, Sir John Kaye gives an account of the school: and alludes to Metcalfe's recollection of "old ceilings of carved wood" in the house. This allusion is connected by Sir William Foster with the "Bromley Room" at the South Kensington Museum, which was removed there from the "Old Palace" at Bromley, and which possesses a fine overmantel and an elaborate plaster ceiling bearing the arms of James the First.

The final chapter on the India Board is concerned chiefly with its domestic history. Pitt the younger, who created this body in 1784, formed it of six Privy Councillors, who drew no salaries and held office during the King's pleasure. They were not necessarily chosen on account of their knowledge of India: but their first Chief Secretary was Charles William Boughton Rous, who served in Bengal from 1765 to 1779, and entered the House of Commons in 1780 as member for Evesham. The duty of presiding fell as a rule upon Henry Dundas, the treasurer of the Navy: until in 1794 he was formally appointed to the office of salaried chairman which he held until 1801, and provided with two paid commissioners. In 1833 the chairman was deprived of his colleagues who were replaced by a number of Ministers as *ex-officio* members. This arrangement continued until 1858.

We have dealt with barely half of Sir William Foster's subjects: and we do not pretend to have selected the best. The reader must buy the book, and decide for himself.

The Nabobs in England: a Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785: by James M. Holzman, Phd. (New York: published by the Author: Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co.: Rs. 12/- net.)

In a leading article published in the *Statesman* of October 27, 1925, reference was made to a letter printed in the *Dundee Advertiser* in which the writer declared that he was "tired of the whole brood of Anglo-Indians who settle down in Dundee to flaunt their ill-gotten gold." There are few Anglo-Indians, we fancy, in these days who have any gold to "flaunt": but it is odd to observe how this prejudice against the "Nabob"

persists. "We can almost hear John Homespun" commenting on the Mushrooms or Foote satirizing Sir Matthew Mite for their eternal talk about Rajahs and rupees—pihaos and palanquins, and their immense fortunes obtained by plunder and extortion.

Dr. Holzman has commenced his anthology of Nabobs in England with the year 1760, because it was during the period immediately following the battle of Plassey that the term passed into general use as an appellation of the Anglo-Indian who, sent out to make a fortune or to die of a fever, was fortunate enough to achieve the first and escape the second. He has crammed his book with information, which is all the more valuable because much of it is difficult of ordinary access. The Nabobs are presented under every aspect: in society, in politics, in their luxurious town and country-houses. There is one chapter on "Nabob origins and connections", in which short work is made of the mythically low pedigrees fastened upon men such as Rumbold, and Francis Sykes by their detractors. In another chapter the influence exerted by the Nabobs upon their contemporaries is examined: and finally there are appendices of a biographical and topographical character, including a comprehensive "Nabob's Who's Who"; and a list of the country-houses of some of them.

The frontispiece is provided by a portrait of General Richard Smith, taken from the *Town and Country Magazine*, and chosen because Smith may fairly be regarded as typical of his class. There are good grounds for supposing him (and not Clive) to be the original of Sir Matthew Mite in Foote's *Nabob*. On his return from India in 1769, after commanding the Bengal Army, he purchased Chiltern Lodge near Hungerford in Berkshire. He owned race-horses, was a member of the Jockey Club, and displayed his scarlet colours in the Oaks of 1780 and the Derby of 1781. As a gambler he was at one time the talk of the town. It was said that he lost £180,000 to Charles James Fox, and the story went that once he went to sleep in a club in St. James's Street and told the waiter not to wake him unless some one who would play for 3,000 guineas came in. His first Parliamentary venture ended in disaster. He was elected for Hindon, a pocket borough in Wiltshire, in 1774 and was not only unseated for corruption but fined £666 and sentenced to six months in jail. In 1780 he was returned as member for Wendover in Bucks and Hickey mentions him as Chairman of a Committee which dealt very roughly with Richard Barwell. According to the *Public Advertiser* of September 7, 1784, he was obliged to take refuge on the continent to escape his creditors: and according to a pamphlet on the Jockey Club published in 1792, "sank into his original insignificance". On the other hand, a certain General Richard Smith of Harley Street, which was his Middlesex and Hartfordshire is advertised as the first prize in a lottery: the second prize was a smaller estate and the third a house in Islington. Robert Park at Haldon House, in Devonshire. Sir Robert Barker at Busbridge near Godalming (an estate now owned by Sir Archy Birkmyre) Sir Francis Sykes at Basildon in Berkshire. Richard

Barwell at Stanstead, near Chichester all these examples of magnificence were symptomatic of the rest.

Next to a country-house the Nabob coveted a seat in the House of Commons; and in those days this too could be bought. Dr. Holzman gives many instances. Warren Hastings paid £4,000 in 1784 for a seat at West Looe in Cornwall for his agent Major Scott Waring; and the owner John Buller who received the money was in the Company's service in Bengal.

Enormous fortunes were brought home from India in some cases. Alexander Mackrabbie notes in his diary that George Vansittart was supposed to have "gone passenger to England with 150 Thousand pounds in his Pocket." Rumbold was declared by James Augustus Hicky of the *Bengal Gazette*, to have amassed "little more than £600,000". Barwell's fortune was compared at £400,000. Major George Marsac of whom we confess that we have not previously heard, but who was reputed to be a son of George the Second, served for fourteen years, from 1765 to 1779, in the Bengal Army. He bought Caversham Park in Oxfordshire from Lord Cadogan, and spent thousands of pounds on the estate. When he died in 1837, his real estate was proved at £107,000 and his personal property at £76,000.

"The desire to become a country gentleman was deep-seated in every Nabob. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 30, 1791, an estate on the borders of Parliament of 1761-1768: his father sat for Montgomery, his cousin George Clive for Bishop's Castle in Shropshire, and his wife's cousin John Walsh for Worcester City: all were Clive's boroughs. At a later date (1780) the notorious Paul Benfield was alleged to have brought in nine members besides himself. Colonel Mark Wood who has given his name to Wood Street in Calcutta, owned the borough of Gatton (described by Cobbett as "a very rascally spot of the earth") and returned himself and his son. Hindon and Cricklade in Wiltshire, New Shoreham in Sussex, and Shaftesbury in Dorset, were other happy hunting-grounds of the Nabobs.

The inevitable result was that the Nabob was unpopular. He was disliked much as a later generation dislikes the war profiteer. No one quite knew how he had made his money: and nothing was too outrageous to be believed. A lament may be found in the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 11, 1784, which indicates how universal the hostility was. "Many private letters mention the great disrespect in which East Indians are held in England, so much so that they are driven to associate almost entirely with each other." Yet Captain Joseph Price was probably right when he maintained that the many were forced to suffer for the sins of the few. Exemplary Nabobs were John Cartier of Bedgebury in Kent, Governor of Fort William from 1770 to 1772, and General John Caillaud of Aston Rowast in Oxfordshire (the seat in later days of Lord Lake and Sir William Plowden). When Caillaud died in 1812, the *Gentleman's Magazine* described him as "a sincere friend and pious Christian" whose loss "will be severely felt by the poor in that neighbourhood for his benevolence". Sir John Call,

Coote's Chief Engineer in Madras, was a banker, a manufacturer of plate-glass, a copper smelter, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Clive's paymaster, John Walsh, twice gained the Copley Medal of the Royal Society (in 1774 and in 1783) for his pioneer experiments on the torpedo fish. William Frankland, who fled to the ships at the capture of Calcutta in 1756, filled his house at Muntham in Sussex with all kinds of novel and elaborate machinery: and is said to have spent at least £20,000 upon his favourite researches. The subject, it will be seen, is full of fascination: and Dr. Holzman has handled it with admirable skill and judgment. A glance at his bibliography, and an examination of the index, will give some idea of the labour and research which has been necessary. The outcome is a standard book, which can, at the same time, be enjoyed by all and sundry.

The Nabobs of Madras: by Henry Dodwell. (London: Williams and Norgate: Ten Shillings and Six Pence net.)

Mr. Dodwell's brightly written book aptly supplements Dr. Holzman's volume. The one presents the Nabob as a finished article: the other enables us to study the process of evolution. Although the scene is laid in Madras—for that is the Presidency with which Mr. Dodwell is best acquainted—the story might just as well be told of Calcutta in the last half of the eighteenth century. The mearest glance at the titles of the chapters will make that clear. We embark on board the Indiaman and once arrived on the Coromandel coast, are introduced in turn to the Company's servant, the Company's officer, the soldier, the chaplain, the surgeon, the merchant, the lawyer, and the ladies: we are given a glimpse of their houses and households, and learn something of their standards of taste and their amusements: and, finally, we are sent home again. Mr. Dodwell has drawn most of his material from the records of the old Mayor's Court at Fort Saint George: and has pieced it together with a lightness of touch which makes reading a pleasure. If we may offer a comment, it is that he is inclined to assume that others are as proficient in the subject as he is. To take one example. On page 198 (in his chapter on the ladies) he speaks of "a young miniature painter" who "after a couple of years catches a gentleman high in the service with a large fortune". The reference is to Miss Martha Isaacs, who painted miniatures of Mrs. Richard Barwell and William Hickey in Calcutta, and, after being baptized at St. John's Church, married Alexander Higginson, member of the Board of Trade, on July 5, 1779. But how many can be expected to supply these details? Elsewhere (p. 21) Mr. Dodwell quotes Horace Walpole's malicious description of the grandmother of Lady Vere of Hanworth (whose husband was the grandson of Charles the Second and Nell Gwynn) as a "most deplorable sooty gentlewoman": but he does not tell us who the lady was. She was, in fact, the Portuguese, or Indo-Portuguese, wife of Sir Thomas Chamber, who began his career in India as a purser's mate and ended it as Agent at Fort Saint George. But why should we have to go to Sir William Foster's "John Company" for this gloss?

These Portuguese families—Carvalhos, Medeiros and the like—played a prominent part in society in the early days of Madras. One of Francisco Carvalhos's daughters married the nephew of Dupleix: another was the wife of Jaques Law who surrendered to Stringer Lawrence at Srirangam: and the son of a third, Charles Smith, acted as Governor at Fort Saint George pending the arrival of Lord Macartney. Equally influential and wealthy were the Jews—de Paivaz, do Portos, and Rodriques—who were likewise of Spanish or Portuguese origin. We find also quite a colony of English families—the Harts, the Powneys, and the Boddams—who sprang from "free merchants": Thomas Powney will be remembered as a friend of Warren Hastings: and John Powney's forty-foot monument still stands on the glacis of Fort Saint George. Families such as these, which were largely Indianized, must not be confused with the Westcotts, the Casamajors, the Chasas, and the Turings, who sent out their children from England as writers or cadets in unbroken succession.

Mr. Dodwell is at his best, we think, when he depicts the life of the soldier. There is not much good to be said of it: which is possibly the reason why so little has been written about it. Often the recruits were foreigners: does not the fame survive of the Swiss regiment de Meuron, which passed from the Dutch service into the Company's pay, on the conquest of Ceylon? The astonishing thing is that men recruited as the Company's soldiers were by crimps and contractors, and condemned to a life which offered no amusement except that of getting drunk, should have fought as well as they did. The mortality was frightful. Mr. Dodwell calculates that out of a hundred men arriving at Madras in any one year, half would be dead within five years. Yet, if the "salting" stage was once safely passed, there was a fair chance of surviving to a hale old age. David Young left the army in 1768 after eight years' service, and settled down in Madras as an agent for supplying officers up-country. The climate agreed amazingly with him: and with others: for we are invited by "Asiaticus" (Captain Philip Dormer Stanhope) to look upon Madras as "the Montpellier of the east". Nevertheless, the man who came out in middle age was almost certain to be dead before the year was out. Stringer Lawrence was the exception which proved the rule.

A word of praise must be given to the illustrations of Fort Saint George—three from Thomas Daniell, two from Francis Swain Ward, and one from an original sketch in the Ouseley Collection at the India Office. They are as acceptable as the want of an index is noticeable. Only partial compensation is made by the list of authorities which is provided as an appendix.

Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal: 1769-1787: by R. B. Ramsotham, Indian Educational Service (Oxford University Press: Price Rs. 6/8.)

Mr. Ramsbotham stands in need of no introduction to his fellow-members of the Calcutta Historical Society, who have long recognized in him an authority on the history of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. In

this book he publishes in full for the first time two important documents. The first of these is the "Amini Report" which was addressed to Warren Hastings in April, 1778, by David Anderson, Charles Croftes and George Bogle (of Tibet fame), members of the Commission appointed in 1776, in spite of the determined opposition of Francis and Clavering, in order "to obtain an accurate state of the real value of the lands." The second is a report on the office of Kanungo (land registrar) prepared in 1787 by Mr. J. D. Patterson, the well-known Judge of Dacca, whose portrait by Home may be seen in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but who was then Registrar of the Kanungo's Office. Explanatory chapters are added which are crammed with information, and in which an admirable sketch is given of Bengal revenue history from the assumption of the Dewani in 1765. We see the servants of the Company surrounded with every conceivable difficulty in their efforts to collect the revenue. Supravisors had been tried and had failed: and in 1772 a Committee of Circuit was formed under the presidency of Hastings himself, to tour the districts. Their success was no less negative: for they put up the revenues to public auction. In 1773 Provincial Councils were set up at Moorshedabad, Calcutta, Dacca, Burdwan, Dinajpore, and Patna. Upon the coming into operation of the Regulating Act of 1774, Alexander Elliot was appointed to be the first Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, to act as an intermediary between the Council at the Presidency and the Provincial Councils. The question of a settlement of the land now emerged: and Francis brought forward in January 1776 his plan for a Permanent Settlement, which he borrowed characteristically without acknowledgment from the reports of P. M. Dacres and George Gustavus Ducarel. A few months later the Amini Commission was appointed and carried on its work under the persistent attacks of Francis. This Report is of value as being the first technical and professional explanation laid before the Directors of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal. It is also, as Mr. Ramsbotham observes, an enduring monument of the work done by the early officers of the Company, which has received too little recognition. Of the Kanungo report, it must suffice to say that the office was abolished by Cornwallis throughout the lower provinces: the records being handed over to the collectors. Mr. Patterson's office, acted as an intermediate stage: it was created in order to collect at the Presidency "all the usual records from the numerous Kanungoes of the three provinces." These, like the Zamindars, had been hereditary revenue officials under the Niabat or Viceroyalty, which the Company took over: and held in their hands all the necessary information for the collection of the revenue. The whole of this intricate story is handled by Mr. Ramsbotham in such a manner that it can be understood by those who make no claim to be experts.

EVAN COTTON.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the Imperial Record Office at 3, Government Place, West, on Monday, the 24th January 1926.

On the motion of Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali and seconded by Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, Professor Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., took the chair.

The annual report for 1926 was read by the Hon. Secretary (Mr. Abdul Ali) and in the unavoidable absence of the Hon. Treasurer, the Financial Statement was placed on the table by the Hon. Secretary.

The annual report of the Secretary was as follows:—

REPORT FOR 1926.

The Calcutta Historical Society has now entered upon the 20th year of its existence. The departure of Sir Evan Cotton from India is a serious loss to the Society; but I am happy to inform you that he continues to take the keenest possible interest in our activities. During the year under report Professor Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta succeeded Sir Evan Cotton as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., I.E.S., very kindly took up Sir Evan's duties as Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present*, and the numbers that have appeared under his editorship fully maintain the standard of the Society's journal. Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., of Madras, has been assisting Mr. Ramsbotham by his interesting contributions in the shape of Editor's Note Book which is one of the special features of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

During the year under review the total number of members of the Society was 187 against 202 of the previous year. Ten schools and colleges in Behar and Orissa ceased to be our subscribers from January 1926. The decrease was also due to the death and resignation of several members of the Society. I am sorry to report that the subscriptions of 46 ordinary members are in arrears. It is expected that most of these will be realised in the course of two or three months.

The balance at the Bank up to the 31st December 1926, as will appear from the financial statement submitted by the Honorary Treasurer, amounted to Rs. 1,975-8-2 out of which Rs. 1,059-1-7 belonged to the Index Fund. The Society is indebted to Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes for their kindness in auditing our accounts free of charge year after year.

The first volume of the Index (*i.e.*, Index to Vols. 9-18 of *Bengal: Past and Present*) was sent to the Press sometime ago. Owing to a mishap in the press the printing has been considerably delayed. I have just heard from the printers and I am glad to tell you that they hope to finish the work in April next. The indexing of Volumes 19-29 has almost been completed. The second volume of the Index will be sent to the press as soon as the first is out.

We have lost by death three of our most valued members. Mr. Samuel Charles Hill, Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnisi of Satara and Rai Mani Lal Nahar Bahadur of Calcutta. Mr. Hill's services to Indian History are too well-known to bear repetition here. Rao Bahadur Parasnisi was a recognized

authority on Mahratta history and his wonderful collection of historical paintings and manuscripts is well-known throughout India. Rai Bahadur Nahar was a well-known figure in Calcutta Society. He was the owner of the famous Nahar collection of Calcutta. He was one of our most enthusiastic members and contributed Rs. 500 to the Index Fund.

THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Income & Disbursements for the year ended 31st December 1926.

INCOME.			DISBURSEMENTS.		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
<i>Balance at 1st January 1926—</i>					
Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ...	1,000	0 0	<i>Printing and Blocks ...</i>	2,070	8 0
On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ...	30	10 1	<i>Postages ...</i>	112	10 0
	1,030	10 1			
<i>Subscriptions Realised—</i>			<i>Bank Charges ...</i>	2	6 0
Arrears ...	120	0 0			
1926 ...	1,529	0 3	<i>Balance at 31st December 1926—</i>		
1927 in advance ...	18	14 3	With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd., Current Account ...	916	6 7
	1,667	14 6		916	6 7
<i>Cash Sales of Society's Journal</i>	294	4 0			
<i>Interest ...</i>	64	2 0			
<i>Advertisements ...</i>	45	0 0			
	Rs. 3,101	14 7		Rs. 3,101	14 7

CALCUTTA,
21st January 1927.

Examined and found correct,
LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

INDEX FUND ACCOUNT.

INCOME.			DISBURSEMENTS.		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
<i>Balance at 1st January 1926—</i>			<i>Honorarium to Clerks ...</i>	200	0 0
Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ...	1,000	0 0	<i>Balance at 31st December 1926—</i>		
On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ...	230	5 7	Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ...	1,000	0 0
	1,230	5	On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ...	59	1
<i>Interest</i>	28	12		1,059	1 7
	Rs. 1,259	1 7		Rs. 1,259	1 7

CALCUTTA,
21st January 1927.

Examined and found correct,
LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Rao Bahadur S. V. Chari proposed that the annual report be adopted Raja Khitindra Dev Rai Mahasaya seconded. The motion was carried.

On the motion of Rao Bahadur S. V. Chari and seconded by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the following changes in the office-bearers were adopted:—

Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., was elected Vice-President of the Society and Chairman of the Executive Committee in place of Sir Evan Cotton. Mr. Oswald Martin and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar were elected members of the council, and Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur, M.L.C., of Nashipur and Mr. E. F. Oaten, M.A., I.E.S., M.L.C., were added to the Executive Committee.

There was a general discussion on miscellaneous matters relating to the work of the society.

Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham (Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present*), began by paying a high tribute to the excellence of the standard set up for the journal during the editorship of Sir Evan Cotton. Sir Evan's encyclopædic knowledge combined with the amount of leisure he commanded owing to the then prevailing atmosphere of Bengal politics, helped the work of editing the journal to a degree to which he (Mr. Ramsbotham) could not aspire. He had, however, the satisfaction of having the valuable assistance of Mr. Abdul Ali which rendered the work of the editor much easier than it would otherwise be.

Mr. Ramsbotham here paid a high compliment to the assistance given by Mr. Narendranath Ganguly of the Imperial Record Office. Mr. Ganguly, he added, was practically running the journal. Mr. Ramsbotham, therefore, suggested that Mr. Ganguly's name should appear on the cover of each issue of the journal as Honorary Manager along with other office-bearers.

Referring to the question of subscriptions, Mr. Ramsbotham mentioned the suggestion made by some of his friends to have printed "banking order" ships sent with the first issue of the journal every year so that subscribers might easily pass the same on to the bank for payment. This arrangement would greatly help many people who were busy and some times left the subscription in arrears by an oversight.

Mr. Ramsbotham concluded with a handsome acknowledgment of the co-operation given to him in his editorial duties by Professor Jadunath Sarkar and Mr. J. J. Cotton.

The suggestion made by Mr. Ramsbotham to style Mr. Ganguly as Hon. Manager was put to the meeting and unanimously accepted.

Dr. H. W. B. Moreno suggested that popular lectures might be arranged to give publicity to the work of the society. In the course of the discussion that followed, it was pointed out by several members that the quality of research work attempted by the society in its journal was an indication of the standard the society had set for itself. Such work would naturally appeal only to those who were historically inclined. The journal had won high appreciation from recognised authorities in India and in England. It was available to students of history in all the leading public libraries.

A suggestion was made to write to Mr. Francis Edwards of London for the sale of complete sets of the journal. It was accepted by the meeting and the Hon. Secretary was requested to do the needful in the matter.

The services of Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes, Honorary Auditors of the Society, was recorded and a vote of thanks to the auditors was carried unanimously.

With a vote of thanks to the chair, the meeting concluded.

The Editor's Note Book.

THERE has always been some apparent confusion as to the birthday of Warren Hastings. Mr. G. F. Grand when Head Commercial Assistant at Patna writes in his Narrative: "The 5th of February 1782 was accordingly fixed for returning to the seat of Government, and due notice having issued, every one prepared; but the day was suddenly deferred to the 6th in order to celebrate Mr. Hastings' birthday, which it appeared he had promised Mrs. Hastings to observe, when he attained the age of fifty, and then again to repeat it when one hundred. Mr. Hastings was not aware of the cause of delay, until with the loudest acclamations, and with every wish that he might reach the latter period, his health was drunk with three times three at the festive and hospitable board of Mr. Markham, the Resident of Benares, and the son of the late Archbishop of York."

Warren Hastings' Fiftieth Birthday (1782).

Grand is wrong as to the month. He was born on the 6th December 1732. There is no copy of the birth-entry, but the baptismal certificate presented to the Directors with his application for a Writership runs as follows: "Novr. 12th 1749. I do hereby certify Yt Warren son of Rev. Mr. Penniston Hastings was baptiz'd the 15th day of December 1732 in the Parish Church of Churchill in the County of Oxford. Witness my hand, N. Sturges, Minister of Churchill. Thos. Hailes. Wm. Cook, Churchwardens."

His Baptismal Certificate.

Hastings himself always celebrated the anniversary on the 17th. In Dec. 1812 he was in London at Fenton's Hotel, Portugal Street, and notes in his diary: "17th. My 80th birthday. The Duke of Gloucester came to congratulate me upon it." Similarly in 1815. "Daylesford, Sunday 17th. My birthday, 83 years complete. The snow detain'd Mrs. H. and Rosalie from church. I find my lr to Mr. Grant." And in 1816 "17th. My eighty fourth birthday. 5th January. Gibbs fixed the stone over my grandfather's grave." The explanation is to be found in the difference between the Old and the New Styles.

His 80th, 83rd and 84th anniversaries.

Marian's birthday was the 13th October and Hastings notes on that date in 1811: "Sunday: we all went to church; had the Adlestrop band. Marian's birthday. No company except Colonel Shaw, who arrived about noon and staid." The Markham, at whose cheerful board his own half century was celebrated, had been Private Secretary to Hastings and then

The Markhams.

Resident at Benares. He was the eldest son of William Markham (1719-1807) headmaster of Westminster School from 1753 to 1765 in succession to John Nicholl, head in Hastings' time, and Archbishop of York from 1777 to his death. William, junior,

died Jan. 1, 1815 after suffering long from paralysis. The Archbishop's third son David Lieutenant Colonel of the XXth Foot was killed on March 26, 1795 "while leading the attack on an outpost of the enemy at Fort Bizotton, St. Domingo, West Indies." His portrait was painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence and there is an engraving of it in the Officers' Mess of the 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers now at Fort St. George. He was shot through the heart whilst directing the attack on a hill commanding the harbour of Port au Prince.

The Archbishop was always a keen supporter of Hastings. Jeremy Bentham who was at Westminster from 1755 to 1760 thus describes his William Markham head-master. "Our great glory was Dr. Markham: he Head-master of Westminster School. was a tall portly man and high he held his head. He married a Dutch woman (Sarah, daughter of John Goddard, an English merchant of Rotterdam) who brought him a considerable fortune. He had a large quantity of classical knowledge. His business was rather in courting the great than in attending to the school. Any excuse served his purpose for deserting his post. He had a great deal of pomp, especially when he lifted his hand, waved it and repeated Latin verses. If the boys performed their tasks well it was well, if ill, it was not the less well. We stood prodigiously in awe of him; indeed he was an object of adoration." Bentham himself was quite out of place at a public school; sensitive, delicate, of dwarfish stature and with no aptitude or liking for boys' games. He made however progress in Greek and Latin, and acquired a reputation for proficiency in Latin verse.

Bentham gave much thought to the affairs of India, and when Ram-
 Bentham and Rammohun Roy. mohun Roy came to England in 1831 advocated his return to Parliament. Max Muller, Monier Williams, Campbell the poet and Lord Brougham were others who befriended the prospective candidate, whose hopes however must have been considerably dashed by the street boys shouting "Tippoo" after him when he appeared in London in his Bengalee dress.

AMONG the victims commemorated on the 5th tablet of Lord Curzon's New Holwell Monument, the second name is that of Thomas Blagg. According to Holwell he died in the Black Hole after having distinguished himself in the repulse of the Nawab at Perrins and by heading a sortie (Holwell's letter to Court, 30th Nov. 1756 para. 42), but Mr. William Lindsay and the Fulta Lists say he was cut to pieces on a bastion, refusing to surrender to the very last. In the List of Military Officers and soldiers on board the Ship Duke of Dorset, Captain Bernard Forrester, Commander, for Bengal, signed East India House London the 31st Janny 1755 by G. Higginson, the roll opens with the names of "Thomas Blagg, Lieutenant, Nottinghamshire, gentleman, age 28", and "Henry Spelman, Ensign, Surry, ditto, 36".

Dr. Busted quotes the passage from Lindsay: "Immediately after the natives scaled the walls on all sides by means of bamboos, which they used as ladders, with precipitation scarce credible to Europeans, and cut to pieces all who resisted, especially all who wore red-coats, amongst them Lieut. Blagg, who refused to lay down his sword". The last name in this tablet is Janniko a fiddler who was either killed or died, and is described by Orme as an uncovenanted Company's servant.

THERE is an interesting reference in the Creevey Papers (Vol. I, p. 59) to the introduction of Warren Hastings to his enemy Sheridan by the Prince Regent in 1805.

Among other persons who came to pay their respects to the Prince (at Brighton) during the autumn of 1805 was Mr. Hastings, whom I had never seen before excepting at his trial in Westminster Hall. He and Mrs. Hastings came to the Pavilion, and I was present when the Prince introduced Sheridan to him, which was curious, considering that Sheridan's parliamentary fame had been built upon his celebrated speech against Hastings. However, he lost no time in attempting to cajole old Hastings, begging him to believe that any part he had ever taken against him was purely political, and that no one had a greater respect for him than himself, etc., etc., upon which old Hastings said with great gravity that it would be a great consolation to him in his declining days if Mr. Sheridan would make that sentence more publick; but Sheridan was obliged to mutter and get out of such an engagement as well as he could.

THE views of Hastings upon the manner in which Burke and Sheridan conducted his impeachment, may be gathered from the sarcastic verses which he wrote upon seeing the fine portrait painted of him in old age by Lemuel Abbott (1760—1803):

A mouth extended fierce from ear to ear,
 With fangs like those which wolves and tygers wear,
 Eyes whose dark orbs announce a sullen mood,
 A lust of rapine and a thirst of blood—
 Such Hastings was as by the Commons painted
 (Men shuddered as they look'd and women fainted)
 When they display'd him to the vacant throne
 And bade the Peers the labour'd likeness own;
 And such in all his attributes array'd
 Behold him here on Abbott's canvas spread!
 'Tis true to vulgar sense they lie conceal'd,
 To Burke and men like Burke alone reveal'd.

They, their own hearts consulted, see him here
 In lines reflected from themselves appear:
 With metaphysic eyes the picture scan,
 Pierce through the varnish, and detect the man.
 To Burke it shows a soul with envy curst,
 Malignant, mean, and cruel while it durst;
 To Sheridan, a foe to shame, untrue
 To every kindred tie, and social too;
 To Fox, a shuffling knave with false pretence;
 Michael alone descried his want of sense,
 And all in avarice agreed to find
 Or make the ruling passion of his mind.
 Yet he has friends! and they—nay, strange to tell,
 His very wife, who ought to know him well,
 Whose daily suff'rings from the worst of men
 Should make her wish the wretch impeach'd again—
 Believe him gentle, meek, and kind of heart.
 O! Hastings, what a hypocrite thou art!

Abbott's portrait may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The verses have been placed below it. Joseph Farington thus records on January 25, 1803 the tragic end of the artist: "Abbott the Portrait Painter died about 6 weeks ago in a state of Insanity." Besides the portrait of Hastings, he painted Cowper the poet, and Lord Macartney, and the best likeness of Nelson is from his hand.

READERS of Hickey's Memoirs will remember in the first volume how he speaks of meeting Mr. John Rider in the Three Kings at Deal so metamorphosed that until he spoke he knew him not. "His suit he assured us was the latest and veritable Parisian fashion; he had had it made up during the few hours he remained in Boulogne. The hat he had purchased at Calais where they put in, and where his head was made *à la regle*. The hat was said to have been introduced by the Duc de Nivernois, French Ambassador at the British Court, and was therefore distinguished by the name of "Chapeau Nivernois." I thought his habiliments preposterous and ugly, except the hat which appeared becoming, whereon he (John Rider) told me that the master of the vessel had purchased some of them upon speculation; and that if I chose it he would purchase one for me. This I requested him to do, and I thus obtained a "Nivernois" even more outré than Rider's, and which was afterwards the cause of great mirth at Madras." The purchase of the hat was on the 3rd January 1769, just before embarking on the Plassey; and the Madras adventure was on the 4th June, being His Majesty's Birthday when Hickey went with the rest of the Settlement to an entertainment given by Governor Bouchier at the Government House in honour of the occasion. "At the supper table chance placed me next to an odd looking elderly man, who eyed me with peculiar archness, and

Hickey's Nivernois
 Hat and its ad-
 venture at Madras
 (1769).

seemed particularly struck with my Nivernois hat. He spoke not but looked at me with great earnestness. At length he suddenly snatched my hat from my lap and placing it upon the point of a walking stick, held it up in the middle of the table. This naturally attracted the attention of the company, the novelty of the exhibition exciting a general burst of laughter, for at that period immensely large hats were worn at Madras. The new and whimsical form of my hat, so unlike the then prevailing fashion, seemed to tickle his fancy excessively. Finding this to be the case, I very civilly said that as he admired the hat it was very much at his service, and he would do me a favour by accepting it. He seemed pleased, bowed gracefully enough, and taking the proffered hat, once more fixed it at the end of his cane holding it up as before and laughing himself immoderately, and in a few minutes afterwards getting up from table, saluted the company and marched out of the room with his acquisition."

Three years previously in his *New Bath Guide*, Christopher Anstey mentions this form of hat in Letter X, where Mr. Simkin Blunderhead "commences a Beau Garçon."

The Nivernois Hat
in Anstey's *New
Bath Guide* (1766).

"But what with my Nivernois hat can compare,
Bag-wig and lac'd ruffles and black solitaire?
And what can a man of true fashion denote,
Like an ell of good ribbon ty'd under the throat?
My buckles and box are in exquisite taste,
The one is of paper, the other of paste:
And sure no Camayeau was ever yet seen
Like that which I purchas'd at Wickstead's machine."

This was written at Bath in 1766. Camayeau or Camaieu is the old spelling for Cameo, and the word machine was commonly used of a stage-coach, and Burke somewhere says "Your very kind letter of the 15th I received by the machine." As to the name of Hickey's elderly friend, we can only guess. He is stated to have been a Captain of Artillery in the Company's service, who had lost his senses in consequence of a fever brought on by severe sufferings during an arduous campaign and was pensioned, and in addition insane and had been so for many years but being perfectly inoffensive and harmless was received everywhere with the utmost attention. The only officer in the Madras Artillery pensioned about that period was John Eley, Lieut. Fireworker in 1756 and Major in 1765, who was pensioned October 11, 1768. But the word elderly may indicate an older man.

ARCHIBALD Keir's career forms a good instance of how, in the eighteenth century in India, "one man in his time plays many parts."

Archibald Keir,
"a man of many
parts."

He was Surgeon of the Delaware East Indiaman, and accompanied Major Kilpatrick's force from Madras to Fulta, after the capture of Calcutta in 1756. While at Fulta he also acted as Secretary to the Council. When the Delaware was ordered home, he accepted a commission as Lieutenant, and was shortly afterwards appointed Quarter-Master to the Force. In 1758 he had risen to

the rank of Captain, and was one of eight Captains who resigned their commissions because they were superseded by a Bombay Officer, Captain Govin. When he left the army he went home, but afterwards returned to India as a free merchant, settled at Patna, and engaged in heavy transactions in salt the manufacture of which he greatly improved. At the time of the officers' mutiny in 1766 he returned to the army as a Captain in Sir Robert Barker's brigade at Patna, but when matters were peaceably settled a few months later, he again resigned on September 1, 1768.

BOPPERY-BOP is the favourite interjection of King Nusser-ud-deen Hyder in Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King* and even of the Eastern Queen. It will be found in *Hobson-Jobson* under the title of "Bobbery-Bob," but there is no reference to the *Private Life* of either monarch. The word is the Anglo-Indian rendering of our old friend 'Bap-re' or 'Bap-re-Bap' the most famous use of which is in the evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in Nuncomar's Case. "Captain Cowe being again examined if he had any opportunity to make any observations regarding the execution of Nuncomar said he had; that he saw the whole except the immediate act of execution; that there were 8 or 10,000 people assembled, who at the moment the Rajah was turned off dispersed suddenly, crying "Ah-bauparee!" leaving nobody about the gallows but the Sheriff (Alexander Mackrabie) and his attendants and a few European spectators. He explains the term Ah-baup-aree, to be an exclamation of the black people, upon the appearance of something very alarming, and when they are in great pain." Captain Price wrote to Edmund Burke at the time to belittle Cowe's statement on the ground that "he had no knowledge of the customs or manners of the people, having himself been bred in the Navy and came to Bengal a very little before the majority." But the Hon. Robert Lindsay, in his *Lives of the Lindsays*, writing circa 1778 gives the deponent a much better character. "At Dacca I made acquaintance with my venerable friend John Cowe. He had served in the Navy so far back as the memorable siege of Havannah, was reduced when a lieutenant at the end of the American War, went out in the Company's military service, and here I find him in command of a regiment of Sebundees or military militia." His dates are Cadet 1769, Ensign 1770, Lieutenant 1771, Captain 1779 and thereafter is not to be traced. The Peter Cowe who entered the Bengal Army in the same year that he did and died a Captain at Cawnpore January 25, 1785 is certainly a younger brother. Captain Joseph Price, like the Eastern King, would himself have sanctioned the use of Boppery Bopp as an universal interjection of little moment by the black people. "If a Hindoo was to see a house on fire, to receive a smart slap on the face, break a china basin, cut his finger, see two Europeans boxing, or a sparrow shot, he would call out Ah-baup-aree!" (Joseph Price's *Tracts*, 3 Vols. 1787). It is a curious commentary on the Nuncomar case that no Brahmin can be hanged even now in the Travancore State.

IT is not generally known that Madama Tussaud's, or her precursor, flourished for a time in India. In the year 1794 Domenick Laurency, an Italian, advertises having brought out from Europe the "Cabinet of Curcius" and "the Great Optic of Zaler, both of which curiosities had attracted the admiration of the capital cities of Europe, and particularly that of London." The cabinet was composed of figures, lifesize, of persons in Europe and elsewhere who had made a name for themselves, and particularly of those who were living actors of the tragedies of the French Revolution, then in full vigour. The "optic glass represents the rising of the sun and the capital cities of Europe, in their natural state and size" etc. Admission one *one gold mohur*. This Curtius was Johann Wilhelm Christoph Kurtz or Creuz (he subsequently latinized his name into Curtius), maternal uncle of Marie Gresholtz, afterwards Tussaud (1760-1850) whom he adopted in 1766. Curtius, a German Swiss, had migrated from Berne to Paris in 1770 and ten years later started a "Cabinet de Cire" in the Palais Royal. In 1783 he created a "Caverne des grands voleurs" (the nucleus of the 'Chamber of Horrors') at 20 Boulevard du Temple, in a house formerly occupied by Foulon. In 1789 Curtius proved his patriotism by taking part in the storming of the Bastille, and at the close of the year, as one of the "Vainqueurs de la Bastille" he was presented by the Municipality with an inscribed musket, still preserved at Madame Tussaud's. After the 9th of Thermidor, 28th July 1794, he came under suspicion as a partisan of the organisers of the Terror and met his death under strong suspicion of poison. He was called upon to model the lifeless heads of a number of the victims of the guillotine and in this repulsive work his niece had more than her fair share. In the meantime Marie had married M. Tussaud, the son of a well-to-do wine grower from Macon, and for six years with varying fortune they carried on the Cabinet de Cire under the name of Curtius. About 1800 she separated from her husband and in 1802 she got a passport from Fouché and transferred her cera-plastic museum to London.

The Notes from this point forward are by Sir Evan Cotton.

AMONG the most remarkable personalities associated with the Supreme Court at Fort William was Elliot Macnaghten, who can be classified neither as advocate nor as attorney (although he was an original member of the Bar Library) but who nevertheless deserves commemoration for more than one reason. When his father Sir Francis Macnaghten (1763-1843) was transferred to Calcutta from Madras as a puisne judge in 1815 he sent home in due season for his fourth son, Elliot and in 1825 appointed him at the age of eighteen to be his clerk, and also Equity Examiner of the Court and Sealer. In 1827 Elliot Macnaghten became Clerk to Sir Charles Grey, the Chief Justice, after his father's

departure: and from 1829 to 1838 combined with the post of Examiner the lucrative office of Receiver. So lucrative was it that he returned to England with a fortune at the age of thirty-one, obtained election to the Court of Directors in 1842 and not only retained his seat until 1858 but remained in office as a member of the Secretary of State's Council until 1871. He was Deputy Chairman of the Court in 1854, Chairman in 1855, and Vice-President of the Council in 1866; and died in 1888 at the age of eighty-one. His eldest son Elliot (1837-1875) was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1856 until his death in Allahabad in 1875: and his fifth son, Sir Melville Macnaghten, was a prominent personage at Scotland Yard. Of the sixteen children of Sir Francis Macnaghten, the Judge, six were sons. The eldest, Edmund Charles (1790-1876) who succeeded him in the baronetcy in 1843, was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1817 at the age of twenty-seven: the second son William Hay (1793-1847) of the Madras Cavalry and then of the Bengal Civil Service who was killed at Kabul, was Sheriff in 1823 and again in 1825; the third son Francis (1798-1869) was also in the Bengal Civil Service from 1817 to 1823; the fourth son Elliot (1807-1881); the fifth son John Dunkin (1810-1862) who was named after Sir William Dunkin, his mother's father, was a Captain in the Bengal Cavalry: and the sixth son, Sir Steuart (1815-1895) was Chairman of the Southampton Docks Company. The younger son of Sir Edmund Charles Macnaghten, Fergus Macnaghten (1836-1867,) was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1856 to 1867 when he died at Mussoorie; he was the brother of Lord Macnaghten (1830-1913) and of the third baronet (1828-1911.) The son of Francis, another Francis (1832-1879) was likewise in the Bengal Civil Service from 1852 to 1871. Sir Charles Lyall, in a letter to the *Spectator* of January 9, 1901, called attention to the examples of Anglo-Indian longevity supplied by this family; and pointed out that the Judge's father, Edmund Macnaghten (1679-1781) remarried at the age of eighty-two and had a further family of two sons. He might have directed attention also to their faithful attachment to the public service in India. The Judge, as we have already recorded in "Memories of the Supreme Court," was admitted as an advocate on September 1, 1791, was appointed Master in 1792 and Examiner in 1795, served the office of Sheriff of Calcutta in 1797, and acted as a short time as Standing Counsel in 1801. He sailed for Europe in the Charlton in December 1802, and returned to India as puisne judge at Madras in 1809 where he remained until his transfer to Calcutta in 1815. From 1791 to 1871 there was almost continuously a Macnaghten in India.

LORD Macnaghten, if famous for nothing else, perpetrated one of the briefest judgments on record, which is reported in M.L.J. XXI, p. 641, July 15, 1911: "The facts of this case are very complicated but it seems to their Lordships that judgment can be given in a single sentence. The appellant has not proved that there was any obligation on the part of Nityanand or his

Lord Macnaghten
and the shortest
judgment on record.

estate to pay the monies which were paid by his wife. The obligation lay upon the appellant to prove that there was such liability and she has not proved it." Such wisdom should be a model to Indian Judges.

THE Christian names of Major General Sir Warren Hastings Anderson, K.C.B., the new Quartermaster-General at Army Headquarters in London, recall the intimate relations which existed between his great-grandfather, David Anderson, and the Governor-General. It was of Anderson that Hastings wrote that "he gained the treaty of Salbai by peculiar talents and wariness." By that treaty, which was signed on May 17, 1782, peace was assured with the Mahrattas for twenty years, and British ascendancy, which had been damaged by the convention of Wargaum in 1780 was re-established. The monument in South Park Street cemetery over the grave of George Bogle, of Tibet fame, who died on April 3, 1781, records that it was erected by "his most affectionate friends David Anderson and Claud Alexander." Anderson's younger son, Warren Hastings Anderson, was Hastings' godchild. His son, General David Anderson, married his cousin Charlotte, who was the daughter of Anderson's elder son (another David): and their son is Sir Hastings Anderson, who was born in 1872. He has been commanding the Baluchistan district since 1924 and was previously Deputy Quartermaster-General at Simla.

SOME delightful specimens of "Hobson Jobson" are to be found in Mr. C. P. Hawkes' recently published book on the British in Tangier in the days of Charles the Second ("Mauresques, with "Hobson Jobson." some Basque and Spanish Cameos": Methuen, London, 3s. 6d. net). Hitherto the palm has been conceded to such corruptions as Sir Roger Dowler for Seraj-ud-daula, the Sow Roger for Shahu Raja (grandson of Sivaji), Bounceloe for the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur, Isle o'Bars for lilliabas (Allahabad) and Jno Gernaete for Jagarnath. But they are equalled by the names which the English under Lord Peterborough gave to the Arab Chiefs: Bosun Ben Mahomet (Bu Hasan Ibn Muhammad), Ben Bowcar (Ibn Aboukir) and Caramel Hodge (Khamel el Hajj). The best illustration near Calcutta is Melancholy Point, on the right bank of the Hooghly, about seven and three-quarters miles from Fort William, which is a distortion of Munikhali Point. As for "Hobson Jobson" itself, which in its primary use stands for "Ya Hasan! Ya Husain", the cries at the Muharram, have we not had an illustrated daily paper in London telling us as recently as 1923 that "the Muhrami is a festival in honour of Hobson Jobson, the grandsons of the Prophet"?

MESSRS SPINK & SON, of King Street, St. James's, the well-known London art dealers, have acquired an oil-painting, in size 50 inches by 40, which they claim to be the original of Zoffany's "Tiger Hunt." Zoffany's "Tiger Hunt" near Chandernagore in 1788." It was formerly in the possession of Mrs. Alexander Kennedy, the grand-daughter of Zoffany's intimate friends, the Wettons of London Style House, Chiswick. When it was offered to Lord Curzon in 1916 as a possible purchase for the Victoria Memorial Hall, Mr. Algernon Graves expressed the opinion that it was a sketch and that the "much larger picture" was probably still in India: and the same suggestion is made by Dr. G. C. Williamson in his book on Zoffany. Mr. Graves also stated—apparently on the authority of Mrs. Kennedy for whom he was acting—that the picture had been painted for Mr. Wetton in 1795. The colouring is unusually dark for Zoffany, but this is perhaps due to the fact that it is now under glass. It has been twice cleaned: once by Mr. Graves about the year 1886 and again recently under the instructions of Messrs. Spink. Lord Curzon did not purchase the picture in 1916, as it was in poor condition at that time; but we understand that there is now some likelihood that it will find its way to the Victoria Memorial Hall. Whether it be the original or not, it bears a close and undeniable resemblance to the work of Zoffany: and may very well be a replica painted for Wetton. The subject-matter has been made familiar by Richard Earlom's engraving, which was published in 1802.

J. J. COTTON.

ERRATUM.

By a slip of the pen "Gainsborough" was given as the painter of the portrait of General Stringer Lawrence in the article published in our last number. The painter, of course, was "Reynolds."

Kern Institute, Leiden.

IN April 1925 a Research Institute for the study of Indian archaeology was founded at the University of Leiden, Holland. The aim of the Institute (which has been named after the great Dutch orientalist, Dr. Kern) is to promote the study of Indian archaeology in its widest sense, that is, the investigation of the antiquities, not only of India proper, but of Further India, Indonesia and Ceylon and in fact, of all territories influenced by Indian civilisation, as well as the study of the ancient history of these countries, the history of their art, their epigraphy, iconography and numismatics.

The Kern Institute, which is now established in one of Leiden's historical buildings, is in possession of a library and of collections of photographs, slides, casts of sculptures, rubbings of inscriptions and other materials connected with these studies. Students from abroad, who wish to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered, will be cordially welcome.

The Institute has further taken in hand the publication of an "Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology," which will contain the titles, systematically arranged, of all books and articles pertaining to the field of studies outlined above. It is also proposed, in an introductory note, to survey the chief archaeological discoveries made in the course of the year, with the addition, if funds permit, of a few good illustrations. The endeavour will be to render this annual bibliography as complete as possible, especially with regard to archaeological publications appearing in India, which often, owing to their being published in local periodicals, remain unnoticed by scholars in Europe and America. Students of Indian archaeology and allied subjects are particularly requested to supply the Kern Institute with copies of their publications. It will be possible to send copies of the proposed "Bibliography" to members of the Institute regularly.

Those, who are in sympathy with the objects of the Kern Institute, are invited to give their support by becoming members. Applications and enquiries should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, The Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland. The annual subscription is 5 guilders* for ordinary members and 25 guilders for patrons. The payment of 100 guilders (or 500 guilders for patrons) will entitle one to life-membership.

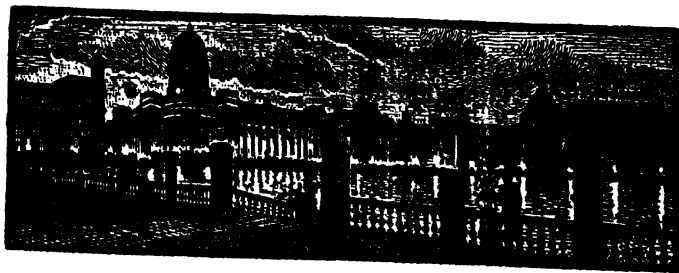
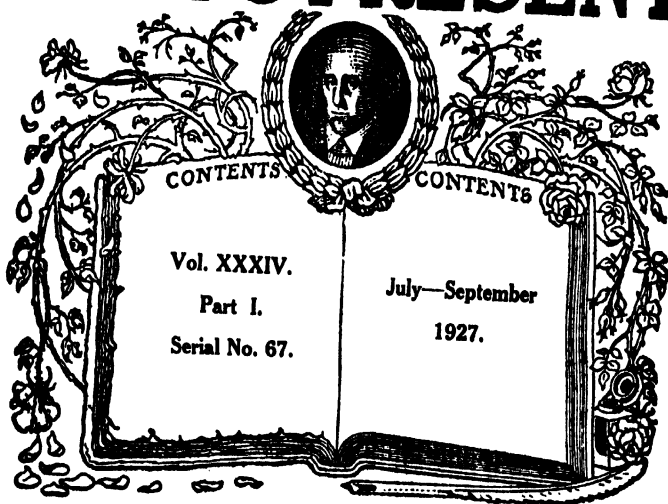
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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

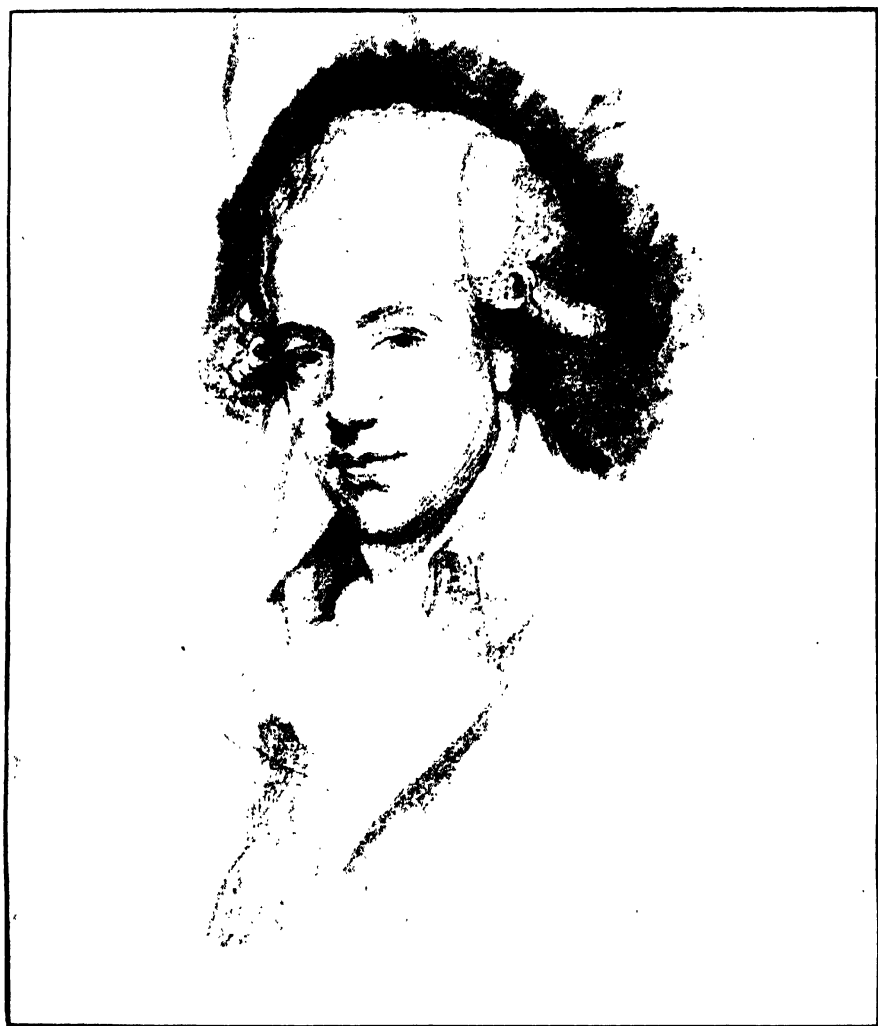
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OZIAS HUMPHRY, R.A.

From the Portrait by Himself in the Library of the Royal Academy.
(Reproduced from a Photograph lent by Dr. G. C. Williamson).

An Artist and His Fees.

THE STORY OF THE SUIT BROUGHT BY OZIAS HUMPHRY AGAINST THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

IN the Notes to the fourth and last volume of the Memoirs of William Hickey particulars are supplied of certain portions of the manuscript which have been omitted. Among these passages is the following:—

Vol. III. p. 306, Deleted. An account of an action brought against Sir John Macpherson, the Governor-General, by Ozias Humphry, the artist, who endeavoured to make Sir John personally responsible for the payment of Humphry's fees for painting portraits of affluent Indians, which he had been able to do through Sir John's introductions and recommendations. The artist failed in his action, but Sir John did not press for payment of his own costs.

There is no mention of this episode in Dr. G. C. Williamson's *Life of Ozias Humphry*: and if Mr. Alfred Spencer, the editor of the Memoirs, had been aware of this, the blue pencil might perhaps not have been applied. Fortunately, a report of the case may be seen in the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, March 12, 1789, and the record is preserved in the High Court. The kindness of Sir William Foster enables the use also of notes which he has made from the unpublished papers of Sir John Macpherson.

The attorney for the plaintiff, Humphry, was William Johnson, a nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who came out with the Judges of the Supreme Court on board the *Anson* in 1774, "under the immediate protection," as Hickey puts it, of Sir Robert Chambers. He became Clerk of the Crown, and Sir John Royds, upon his appointment to a judgeship in 1797, nominated him as his clerk: but he did not long hold the latter office. Hickey records that he was "suddenly carried off by a violent fever" in 1799 (1). Humphry's counsel was Robert Ledlie, who was admitted an advocate on November 6, 1785, and whom Hickey had "long known by sight as a gay London man." He married on January 3, 1786, Susannah Grand, the sister of George Francis Grand, and died in Calcutta on November 24, 1809, at the age of sixty-five. During the last years of his life he held the appointments of Master in Equity, Accountant-General, and Keeper of the Records. William Hickey himself was in charge of Macpherson's case: and his counsel was James Dunkin, who was admitted as an advocate on March 1, 1784, and died on October 16, 1808, at the age of seventy-eight, at Colombo, where he had been advocate fiscal, or circuit judge.

(1) The Johnson collection of Oriental paintings, which is now at the India Office, was made by his younger brother, Richard, who was Resident at Lucknow in 1782.

since 1799 (2). The judges of the Supreme Court at the time were Sir Robert Chambers, who had been acting as Chief Justice since the departure of Impey in January, 1784, John Hyde, and Sir William Jones, who succeeded Le Maistre in the previous year.

With these preliminaries, we may proceed to study the following item of "Law Intelligence" from the *Calcutta Gazette* of March 12, 1789.

* * * * *

A very curious case, that of Ozias Humphry, Miniature Painter, against the present Sir John Macpherson, was determined on Friday last in the Supreme Court. Mr. Humphry brought his bill to be decreed a compensation for his time and trouble in having at the requisition of Mr. Macpherson, then Governor-General, left Calcutta and proceeded to Lucknow for the purpose of painting certain pictures, five in number, at the Court of Oude; namely, of His Highness the Nawaub and others of the Royal Family, and of the publick Ministers. And as a foundation for this relief, Mr. Humphry charged that at the time he left Calcutta, his profits by his profession amounted to 1,000 rupees per week, that the Governor proposed to him to undertake this commission, that his friends advised him to decline it without an indemnification against his being a loser, that the defendant, understanding this, promised that he should be no loser by his journey; on the contrary, that he should have a greater income at Lucknow than he made at Calcutta; and then charged him with a commission to paint as before at the Court of Oude, having first delivered him letters of introduction to the Nawaub and his Ministers, with many others. That he arrived at Lucknow in February, 1786, and finding upon enquiry little prospect of being paid at the Durbar, he immediately by letter acquainted the defendant with his discouragements; that the defendant caused Mr. Magnus to write two letters of consolation to him, desiring him to remain in Lucknow, to be confident and fear not; that the defendant afterwards, in consequence of a second letter from the plaintiff, conceived in like terms of chagrin and disappointment, wrote him three several letters, in two of which he expressly promised to pay the plaintiff for his trouble; that under these assurances he remained at Lucknow and compleated his commission. That when he applied for payment he was amused under various pretences and was at length obliged to accept 5,000 sicca rupees (3) to defray his expenses and to receive a note payable the next fusile (fasli) year for 42,000 odd rupees,

It also appeared by the bill that the quantum of this payment was regulated by a calculation framed by Mr. Humphry in the following manner.

(2) "Dunkin-busti-ka-rusta," the vernacular name for Camac Street, perpetuates unsavoury memories of Dunkin's *busti*, which once stretched from Wood Street to Camac Street. Either James Dunkin, or his relative Sir William Dunkin, the Judge, was the original owner. James Dunkin was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1794.

(3) Sicca rupees (which carried the impress of the nineteenth year of the reign of Shah Alam) bore to the Company's rupee (which was based on the old Farrukhabad rupee) the proportion of sixteen to fifteen. The barrister's gold mohur, which is equivalent to sixteen rupees, is the last survival of the sicca.

From the time he received his credentials at Calcutta to the time he left Lucknow, after having completed his commission, twenty-three and a half weeks had elapsed, which at the rate of 1,000 rupees a week, amounted to 23,500 rupees, and the plaintiff insisted he was intitled to double that sum, namely 47,000 rupees, because Mr. Willison, a gentleman who had been employed as a Painter at the Durbar of Arcot, was allowed double his ordinary price (4).

The defendant, in answer, denied that he had ever entered into any original engagement with the plaintiff, that, conceiving the plaintiff who had been recommended to him from England, was a man of genius and a good Artist, he wished to serve him as far as he could. That with that view and by way of encouragement he gave him liberty to proceed to Lucknow, furnished with letters of recommendation, and desired him to paint certain pictures of the Durbar, expecting the Nawaub and his Ministers would reward the plaintiff liberally, observing that, without deputing a Painter specially to Lucknow, he might have had any pictures he wanted painted by an able artist on the spot. That, feeling very much for the disappointment and despondency which appeared in the letters he had received from the plaintiff soon after he reached Lucknow, he had been induced from mere motives of humanity and compassion to express himself as he had done in his letters to the plaintiff.

Many witnesses had been examined on both sides. On the 4th instant the cause came on to be heard, was continued on the 5th and on the 6th. The plaintiff having closed his case (which was very poorly supported in proof), just as the Council for the defendant was preparing to open the defence, the court was pleased to signify that it was not necessary, the plaintiff having laid no foundation to intitle him to a decree. They observed that Mr. Macpherson's engagement to pay was a *medium pactum*, that at all

(4) From one of Humphry's note books which are preserved at the British Museum, it appears that Willison's prices for portraits in India were: "For a three-quarter portrait at Madras, 75 pagodas, at Bombay the same money in rupees; for a half length 150 pagodas; for a full length 300 pagodas; whatever Mr. Willison did at the Durbar was paid for double." A Madras pagoda was equal to three and a half rupees.

George Willison (1741-1797) "an amiable modest man as well as an admirable artist," arrived at Madras in 1774 "without permission." He painted a number of portraits of Muhammad Ali Khan, Walajah, the famous Nawab of the Carnatic (1717-1795). Two were sent home by the Nawab in 1775 for presentation to King George the Third and the Court of Directors; the former, which was at Hampton Court, is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall, and the latter hangs in the Revenue Committee-room at the India Office. A third was formerly at Government House, Calcutta, and has been transferred to Viceregal Lodge, Simla. A fourth, a whole length, was exhibited at the rooms of the Society of Artists in 1777. In April 1925 Sir William Foster informed the writer that Admiral Tate was the owner of a large oil-painting by Willison of the Nawab with his eldest son Umdat-ul-Umara (1748-1801) and his grandson Abdul Ali Khan. It was sold at Christie's on June 22 for twelve guineas. Willison settled in Edinburgh on his return from India. "He was before his death considered as the richest of commoners in the country for jewels" (Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painting*). Having some knowledge of medicine, he "cured a wealthy Indian of a dangerous wound of long standing," and was bequeathed a considerable fortune in consequence.

events it could not extend further than by the real value of the pictures (500 rupees a piece, according to the proofs made in the cause) and that, taking it even upon the scale of the plaintiff's own calculation, that of double price, the plaintiff had been fully paid, he having received for five pictures 5,000 rupees.

The Reporter has purposely omitted the legal arguments used by the court, as the Publick are but little interested in such arguments, and more especially as the matters of fact are in this case so very decisive (5).

He cannot help observing that this decision is most fortunate for all men of genius, and indeed for many others who may resort to this country and require the aid and recommendation of humane and generous patrons. If men in power are to be saddled with demands in consequence of their liberality and compassion, those who stand in need of assistance, would find themselves miserably deserted.

* * * * *

Ozias Humphry was born at Honiton in Devon on September 8, 1742. According to Joseph Farington (Diary, March 19, 1809), "His parents traded in lace and sold wine, perhaps two or three pipes in a year" (6). He was in his forty-third year, and had been an Associate Royal Academician for six years when he sailed for Bengal in the *Francis* Indiaman at the end of January, 1785. On the voyage he made sketches of Capt. James Urmston, the commander and "Major (George) Mence, son of the Rev. Mr. Mence, Doctor of Kentish Town and one of the canons of St. Paul's" (7). The vessel struck a rock in False Bay in May, and was detained for repairs for three weeks at the Cape of Good Hope. She reached Madras in July and Calcutta in August.

Writing to his brother (the Rev. William Humphry of Seale, near Sevenoaks) on August 18, 1785, "a fortnight after my arrival," he says that both Macpherson and Chambers had received him with the utmost kindness, and that he had already made £200 and expected to make £5,000 a year. On November 26, he was less hopeful. He expresses annoyance that J. T. Seton should have returned to England, "after an easy time in Bengal, with £12,000 in his pocket" (8), whereas, "owing to the restrictions and im-

(5) The judgment of the Court extends to seventy-two folios.

(6) In an earlier entry (November 4, 1804) Farington says that he was the son of a barber who died in poor circumstances. He was elected A.R.A. in 1779.

(7) James Urmston (1750-1815) was captain of the *Earl of Mulgrave* when she sailed from Plymouth for Bengal on June 26, 1781, with Robert Pott and Emily Warren on board (Hickey, Vol. II, p. 313). On his retirement from the sea in 1803, he bought an estate in Essex and became High Sheriff of the county. His son Sir James Brabazon Urmston (1785-1850), was President of the Select Committee at Canton, and was knighted in 1820. For Mence see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 100. He was "sketched at sea 21 June 1785" (Williamson).

(8) See the article on John Thomas Seton by Sir William Foster in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 1. He received "leave to proceed to Bengal to practise the profession of a portrait painter" on November 22, 1775. It has now been ascertained definitely that the portrait of Sir Eyre Coote, which hangs in the Council-room at the India Office, is his. A portrait by him of Warren Hastings (which has disappeared) was engraved by John Jones in April 1785.

poverishments ordered by the Company's regulations," his own prospects are almost ruined. Macpherson had, however, assured him that if he could persuade himself to stay in India for a couple of years, he might perhaps make £10,000.

On December 19, he writes a long letter to Miss Boydell, the daughter of Alderman Boydell, the art publisher. He is about to start upon a journey up-country, with the intention of spending three or four months at Lucknow with the Nawab Vizier, from whom alone he has been told that he will be able to obtain £10,000. But he is still despondent and complains of "the poverty of Calcutta and the English in general." It will take at least four or five years to save as many thousand pounds. "If Mr. Zoffany had arrived at this time in India, instead of when he did (9), it would have made a difference of full £10,000 in his receipts" (10). Macpherson had given him orders already to paint six large miniatures at Rs. 1,000 each, but he had determined first to go to Lucknow to do some work for the Nabob Vizier. Everything in Calcutta was "amazingly expensive". He is paying Rs. 500 a month for his house and is obliged to have such a crowd of servants "as would astonish you" (11).

On June 1, 1786, he tells his brother that he has been ill for three months and unable to do any work. He was at Lucknow and was engaged to paint the Nabob and the Shahzada, "heir apparent to the Great Mogul," from whom he expected a very large reward. But "poverty and distress are pervading every part of India": and his hopes are "much lowered since his arrival." He had, however, made £500 which he had remitted by way of China. If he could scrape together another £5,000, he would be satisfied and return home. "The heat is such, we sit in darkness and perspiration all day long. The confinement by the sun is as effectual as the walls of the Bastille" (12).

(9) As a matter of fact, Zoffany arrived in India in September, 1783, only two years before Humphry, and remained in the country until 1789. Claude Martin, writing from Lucknow on March 11, 1789, to Humphry in London, says that Zoffany had taken his passage to Europe in an Italian ship, the *Grande Duchesse*.

(10) The complaint of "bad business" is echoed by Thomas Daniell in a letter written by him from Patna on November 7, 1788, to Humphry in London. He has been quite unable (he says) to sell a bundle of prints which Humphry had left with him. "The commonest bazar is full of prints." Hodges' Indian views are "selling off by cart loads" but at ruinous prices. "Although framed and glazed they are bought for less money than the glass alone could be purchased in the bazar: so have times changed." Neither Zoffany nor Devis are "doing very much at present in the way of painting": and he himself is on his way to Garhwal. (For an account of this journey see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-74.)

(11) Cf. Joseph Farington's account of his conversation with Samuel Davis, of Benares spear fame, who was Accountant-General at Calcutta from 1804 to 1806: "Davis talked about the expense of living at Calcutta. He said that He thought £3,000 a year was a sum required to live handsomely, and that it would go as far as the same sum wd. do in London. House rent is very dear at Calcutta. His House cost him £600 a yr. unfurnished. Butcher's meat, poultry, butter, etc. are much cheaper than in London. A fine sirloin of Beef costs *Rs. 6d.* leg of mutton *2s. 6d.* Many servants are required, but their wages are very low, not more than £10 a yr. Wine costs abt. as much as it does in London." (Diary, September 16, 1811).

(12) Humphry's letters are preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy, and have been summarized by Dr. Williamson in his book.

These extracts enable us to understand the frame of mind in which Humphry undertook his journey to India. He was evidently under the impression that a large fortune was to be had for the asking. Moreover, his dislike and dread of competition amounted almost to mania. He regrets leaving Calcutta, for "it may make room for Mr. Smart who is now at Madras" (13). If Smart came to Calcutta (he writes on November 26, 1785), he would be obliged to paint in oils to keep abreast of him. A little later, he is still more disturbed by the arrival of Mrs. Diana Hill (14), another miniature painter, "a most unlucky importation;" and declares (in the same letter of June 1, 1786) that he would rather have all the male painters in England landed in Bengal than this one woman.

At this point reference may usefully be made to the copy of Mr. James Dunkin's brief in the case, which was sent by William Hickey to Macpherson, and from which the following extracts have been taken by Sir William Foster. It is stated in the plaintiff's bill, which represents Humphry's view of the matters in dispute, that he was cordially received by Macpherson on his arrival in Calcutta and was employed to paint several portraits for him. The suggestion that he should go to Lucknow proceeded from Macpherson: but other friends advised against it and Humphry informed Macpherson, who assured him that he would be given such letters to the Nabob Vizier and others as would secure much business for him than at Calcutta where he was (he says) earning Rs. 1,000 a week. Macpherson also promised a written commission to paint for him portraits of the Nabob Vizier, the

(13) John Smart, the elder (1741-1811), was the best of the eighteenth century miniature painters. He received permission to go out to India in 1784, and returned in 1795. (Dr. Williamson is strangely in error in asserting that he went out with the Impeys in 1774.) His prices at Madras for miniatures, according to Humphry, were "the same for bracelets as Mr. Willison's for a three-quarter length" (75 pagodas) "and for larger miniatures in proportion." A daughter accompanied him, to Madras and married Robert Woolf of the company's service (writer 1779) on July 11, 1786. Woolf became Accountant General at Fort Saint George in 1795, returned to Europe in 1803, and died on March 2, 1836. The painter's son, John Smart the younger, came out at a later date and died in Madras on June 1, 1809: cf. *Farington Diary*, February 11, 1810: "Dance [R. A.] spoke of John Smart the miniature Painter, and told us Smart's son went to the East Indies not long since and died at Madrass the last summer. "He was also a miniature painter.

(14) Diana Hill was the daughter-in-law (says Humphry) of Mrs. Hill of Newman Street—"a pretty widow with two children who has adventured across the immense ocean in search of a provision." She "has great merit" and was a pupil of Jeremiah Meyer (1735-1789) a foundation member of the Royal Academy. "Her brother Mr. Hill being a vrey popular character high in the Company's service," [John Hill, writer 1773, was assistant to the Resident at Lucknow from 1776 to 1783], she is being "universally patronized." On November 7, 1788, Thomas Daniell tells Humphry (who was then in London) that Mrs. Hill was still at work in Calcutta "making handsome faces" in the house in which Humphry had lived. But he was writing from Patna: and did not know that she had found a second husband. On November 15, 1788, she was married at St. John's Church, Calcutta to Captain Thomas Herriott. A miniature by her of William Larkins was bequeathed to the India Office in 1924 and has been placed in the council chamber close to Romney's portrait of Warren Hastings, which was the gift of Larkins: see Sir William Foster's article in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 226.

Shahzada (son of the Emperor who was then residing at Lucknow), the Nabob's son and ministers, and others. He undertook further that if the Nabob did not pay Humphry, he would, and that Humphry should be no loser by his journey.

Accordingly, Humphry declined fresh business in Calcutta and set out for Lucknow, with a letter of recommendation from Macpherson to the Nabob. At Benares he found Charles Smith (15) who informed him that he also had a letter of recommendation, dated June 1785, from Macpherson to the Nabob Vizier and was going to Lucknow, where he arrived sixteen hours after Humphry. While Humphry was at Cawnpore, Colonel Blair (15A) gave him the news that Zoffany had gone about twelve days earlier to Agra and Delhi in company with Mr. Wombwell (whose portrait is one of those in the famous picture of "The Cock Match"), and offered him an escort in case he cared to join them: but Humphry declined.

Humphry stayed at Lucknow with Captain Robert Frith who had accompanied Warren Hastings to Benares in 1784 and had been left behind in command of a portion of the Nawab Vizier's forces (16). His first discouragement came when Col. Harper the Resident (17) told him that it was unlucky that both he and Smith should be at Lucknow together, as well as Zoffany who was in high esteem with the Nawab: and added that the Nawab was not very liberal and that Humphry must not expect too much.

Humphry wrote to Macpherson to that effect, expressing much apprehension. A reply dated March 10, 1786, was received from Mr. Francis Magnus, stating that Macpherson desired him to stay in Lucknow: and in a second letter he was encouraged to keep up his spirits. Macpherson charged

(15) Charles Smith came out in the *Belmont* (Capt. William Dick Gamage) in 1783. He is mentioned in the *East India Kalendar* for 1798 as a portrait painter at Lucknow. But there is a letter on the Bengal Proceedings for January, 1797, asking for a passage to Europe for C. Smith: and this must be he, for he published in London in 1802 a "musical entertainment" entitled "A trip to Bengal," which he dedicated to Sir John Macpherson "in grateful acknowledgment of the patronage and hospitality experienced during a residence of several years in Bengal" (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV. p. 100). Thereafter, he must have returned to India, for the name of "C. Smith, portrait painter, Lucknow" appears in the *India Register* for 1806 and the five following years. He died at Leith in Scotland in 1824 at the age of seventy-five.

(15A) Colonel William Blair joined the Bengal Army as a Major in 1768, was appointed Governor of Chunar Fort in 1780, and was now commanding the first brigade of Company's troops. He died in Stratford Place (London) in 1814 at the age of eighty-four. Humphry painted a miniature of his daughter (see post).

(16) Frith was appointed to the First Rissala of Cavalry at Futty Ghur in 1787 (*Calcutta Gazette*, July 12, 1787). In 1790 he and his regiment escorted Lord Cornwallis to Madras for the second campaign against Tippoo Sultan. Charges were brought against him that his men refused to face the enemy, whereupon he demanded a court of enquiry and was justified by a court strongly hostile to him. He took the lead in 1795, with Major Popham, in the agitation of the Bengal European Officers for redress of their grievances: and probably suffered for this breach of discipline, since in 1807 his son (Col. Warren Hastings Leslie Frith) writes from Agra to say that he has died in very poor circumstances.

(17) Colonel Gabriel Harper resigned the Company's service in 1788 and was succeeded as Resident by Edward Otto Ives.

him not to paint in oils, so as to avoid competition with Smith. Humphry consequently declined all commissions of that nature both at Lucknow and at Benares.

On March 31, 1786, Macpherson again wrote to Humphry, saying that he hoped the Nawab and his ministers would employ him; if not, he should be no loser.

On May 4, 1786, Humphry wrote that he had been presented to the Nawab who had sat twice to him and to Smith, both painting simultaneously. The Shahzada had likewise given two sittings. The Nawab had ordered a copy of Humphry's miniature of Macpherson: but he was still depressed over his prospects and feared that Col. Harper would not back him. His health had not been improved by the change to Lucknow, and he intended to return to England in the spring.

Humphry finished portraits of the Nawab, the Shahzada, the Nawab's son, Hasan Reza Khan, Hyder Beg Khan, and the copy of the miniature of Macpherson. Upon being informed of this Macpherson wrote on June 19 that he would, if necessary, himself pay for the pictures and advised Humphry to return at the rains. On June 26, Humphry wrote that Col. Harper had refused to apply to the Nawab for payment except for a specific amount. He had then pointed out that Willison at the Arcot Durbar was paid double price for whatever he painted, and that he felt justified therefore in claiming double what he would have received at Calcutta, namely Rs. 1,000 a week, for the twenty-three and a half weeks from January 17 to the end of June. He claimed accordingly sicca Rs. 47,000. Willison had been paid between Rs. 17,000 and Rs. 20,000 by the Nawab of Arcot and his second son.

Humphry was informed that the Nawab would pay him, but not all at once. Rs. 5,000 was paid in cash and an assignment was given on the revenue for Rs. 42,000, which was of no value. He offered to sell the assignment for Rs. 21,000 or to make an abatement: but nothing came of the suggestion.

On July 16, he received a letter from Macpherson advising him of the arrival in Calcutta of other artists—Carter (18) and Mrs. Hill. He left Lucknow about July 26, and went to Cawnpore, arriving in Calcutta about November 10.

He alleges that the Rs. 42,000 will only meet his travelling expenses and that the pictures remain unpaid for: that Macpherson was unwilling to buy: and that he offered on January 10, 1787, to submit the matter to

(18) George Carter (1737-1794) came out in the *Manship*, which arrived at Diamond Harbour on June 9, 1786 (see article by Sir William Foster in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 3, 4). There is a notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which makes no mention of his residence in India, but from which it appears that he died at Hendon in Middlesex in September, 1794. In 1791 he published a "Narrative of the Loss of the *Grosvenor*," based upon information supplied by John Hynes, one of the survivors, who was a seaman on the *Manship*: and among the pictures by him which are advertised for sale by auction in the *Calcutta Gazette* of December 5, 1793, is "the Death of Master Law, a passenger by the *Grosvenor*".

arbitration. The assignment is invalid and cannot be enforced: and he claims sicca Rs. 42,000 from Macpherson.

The reply of Macpherson took the form of a complete denial of liability. He had employed Humphry to paint his portrait as an encouragement and had recommended him to visit the Upper Provinces as Calcutta did not suit him. He had promised him introductions but never deputed him to go to Lucknow nor did he want the pictures painted there. Had he wanted them a superior artist was already at Lucknow (18A).

Hickey in the notes sent by him to Macpherson, describes Humphry as eccentric and bad tempered. Free dawks had been provided for him to Lucknow and back: and no question of travelling expenses could arise. He had annoyed Col. Harper and had left Captain Frith's house abruptly, without notice or thanks.

We now come to the story told by Hickey in the deleted portion of the manuscript of his Memoirs, which I have been able to examine by the courtesy of Mr. Alfred Spencer, and from which I am permitted to quote. It abounds in picturesque touches, as might be expected, and although it is naturally one-sided, it fits in with the admissions made by Humphry himself.

"Mr. Ozias Humphry, an eminent miniature painter in London, ambitious of making a rapid fortune, quitted the drudgery of his profession in the British capital and following the example of his brother artists Mr. Kettle, Hodges, Smith and others (19), who had met with much success in the East," arrived in Calcutta with letters of introduction and recommendation to the men in power in India. Among these was Governor Macpherson, who persuaded several wealthy Indian gentlemen to sit for their portraits, "all of whom paid most liberally" (20): Some of these persons expressed surprise that he did not make an excursion to the Upper Provinces, "where he would find continual employment for his talents."

Humphry consulted Macpherson who declined to give him permission, as the Court of Directors had recently complained of the number of Europeans who had found their way into the dominions of the "country powers," and had ordered that no private individual should be allowed to proceed further than Moorshedabad. Six months later Humphry renewed his application, and obtained a reluctant consent. The requisite papers were prepared, and the artist was furnished with "warm recommendations" to the Residents at the various courts and to the Nawab of Moorshedabad, the Nawab Wazir, and other notabilities at Lucknow, Benares, and "the famous old city" of Delhi. In these letters says Hickey, "Mr. Humphry

The Victoria Memorial Hall possesses a specimen of his work in the shape of a portrait of a certain Thomas Henderson who was connected with the Military Orphanage, then at Howrah.

(18A) The allusion is obviously to Zoffany.

(19) Tilly Kettle received permission to proceed to India in September 1768, and had returned by December 1776, for he applies for leave to take delivery of five paintings sent from Bengal in the *Hillsborough* which arrived in the Downs on August 17 of that year.

William Hodges seems to have reached Madras early in 1780, and went home with the *Impeys* on board the *Worcester* in January, 1784.

(20) Where are those portraits now?

was spoken of as an Artist of uncommon merit, who was travelling with the double object of exploring countries he had never seen, and at the same time making the most of his abilities in his profession."

Thus armed, Humphry set out on his journey and, "after meeting with a degree of success beyond his most sanguine expectations at Cossimbazar, Moorshedabad, Patna, and Benaras, where he was fully employed, being paid whatever price he chose to put upon his labour," he presented himself at the court of the Nawab Wazir.

Asaf-ud-Daula was the fourth of his line and reigned from 1775 to 1797. The first three had made Fyzabad their headquarters. He preferred to live at a distance from his mother (one of the "Begums of Oude" made famous by Burke's rhetoric) and accordingly removed the capital to Lucknow which he transformed from a village into a town, building the Imambara, the Rumi Darwaza, the palace which afterwards became the Residency, and a bridge across the Gumti. Thomas Twining, who visited Lucknow in 1795, says of him that "in polished and agreeable manners, in public magnificence, in private generosity, and, it must be admitted, in wasteful profusion, Asaf-ud-Dowlah, King of Oude, might probably be compared with the most splendid sovereigns of Europe." Others were more discriminating in their praise. The author of the *Siyar almuta' akhkhirin* charges him with association with the lowest and most worthless characters. Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith, writing in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1804, notes the same inability to differentiate between the bad and the good. His extravagance was such that he left the treasury absolutely empty at his death: and much of the wealth which he squandered went into the pockets of the European adventurers who flocked to his court. All types were represented from traders such as James Paull to painters such as Zoffany and astute men of the world such as Claude Martin.

The pictures having been painted the question of payment naturally arose. "It was a well-known fact," says Hickey "that this Prince was so profuse that he was constantly distressed for ready cash, consequently dilatory in his payments—but he never scrupled to enter into a bond for the amount due with an interest of twelve per cent., which he cheerfully gave to every creditor." Humphry was informed of this peculiarity, and "having no immediate call for cash, he was glad to take the Vizier's bonds, as they bore so high a rate of interest."

According to Dr. G. C. Williamson, the original arrangement was that Humphry was to receive Rs. 47,000, and his account for that sum was presented to Col. Harper, the Resident, and approved by him. The Nawab was, however, so pleased with the miniature that he raised the amount to Rs. 50,000. Of this Rs. 5,000 was paid in ready money, and a bond was given for the balance of Rs. 45,000, due in twelve months at twelve per cent interest. Col. Harper, assured Humphry that the security was good and he accepted the bond (21).

(21) As regards the amount of the bond, we have already seen that Humphry gives the figure of Rs. 42,000 in his statement of claim.

He seems, however, to have repented of the bargain as soon as he had made it. The sequel is thus told by Hickey:

Upon hearing that Mr. Macpherson was likely soon to leave India (22), he set off at once by dawk bearers for Calcutta, and instructed his attorney, Mr. William Johnson, to call on the ex-Governor-General, and make the following announcement. Considering it more respectful to make the demand he was directed to do personally than by letter, he had taken the liberty of calling to let him know that Mr. Humphry had executed the commissions he had honoured him with, by painting miniatures of the Vizier and others whom he named, the amount due for which was 25,000 sicca rupees, which sum he trusted Sir John Macpherson would have the goodness to pay previous to his departure for Europe.

Sir John's reply was an explosion of wrath. "Confounded at such a claim and at the base ingratitude of the man who made it, he expressed himself in strong language thereat," and flatly declined to comply with the demand.

If we are to believe Hickey, Johnson thereupon informed his client that an action at law upon such material as he possessed stood little chance of success. But Humphry insisted that in the letters addressed to Robert Pott at Moorshedabad and John Wombwell at Lucknow, Macpherson had particularly stated that the principal object of Humphry's visit to Lucknow was to paint the portrait of the Nawab Vizier for him (Macpherson). "Justice he would have, let the purchase of it be ever so dear!" A bill in equity was accordingly prepared and filed: and notice given to the defendant, who requested Hickey to act for him.

As Macpherson, according to Hickey, was now due to leave Calcutta in two days, the utmost expedition was needed to draw the answer, lay it before counsel for perusal and settlement, and obtain the approval of the client. Matters were so far arranged: but before the document could be engrossed and signed, Macpherson went on board the pilot schooner which was to convey him to the *Berrington* Indiaman, which was lying, as usual, off the Barrabulla sands (23), and "dropped down the river one tide's

(22) Macpherson made over charge of the office of Governor-General to Lord Cornwallis on September 12, 1786: but did not embark immediately. Hickey writes (Vol. III, p. 306): "In December [1786] Sir John Macpherson (the Minister, as some sort of recompense for superceding him in his Government having made him a baronet) and Sir Robert Sloper [the Comander-in-Chief] took their passages for Europe." The account of Humphry's action in the Supreme Court follows upon this passage. The incident is said to have occurred a fortnight before Macpherson's departure.

(23) These sands were a favourite anchorage for Indiamen. They are not shown on modern survey maps: but John Ritchie's map (1770) places them in lat. 21' 40" between Saugor Island and the western shore. They are also marked on Thornton's chart of the Bay of Bengal attached to the 1703 edition of the *Bengal Pilot*. The *Ganges*, a "country ship" (Captain Frayer), bound for Madras and China with passengers and cargo, was wrecked near these sands on May 23, 1787. Sixty-five of the 113 persons on board were drowned.

way," about a mile below the old powder mills (24). Hickey set two clerks to work all night, and by that means the document was ready by ten o'clock the next morning. He then presented a petition to the Court to issue a commission for the taking of the defendant's signature. The prayer was granted by consent, and Hickey was named as commissioner, jointly with Isaac Golledge, the master of the pilot schooner (25).

He set out accordingly. "General Carnac, hearing I was going after Sir John, and having just reached Calcutta from the Upper Provinces (26) was desirous of taking leave of his friend, and proposed accompanying me." They arrived on board the pilot schooner "just as dinner was putting on the table, and after an excellent meal washed down with well cooled claret, we finished the business." By this time it was past nine at night and supper was served. At ten the return journey to the powder mills was begun. The night was dark and foggy: but in spite of the warnings of Hickey and of Golledge, "General Carnac ridiculed the idea of a compass to steer by." The result was that "after a cold and comfortless cruize of upwards of four hours," they found themselves once more alongside the schooner. Mr. Golledge, the pilot, now came to their rescue, and sent them ashore in his own boat. But on landing at the powder mills, they discovered that their carriage had gone: and they were obliged to walk for upwards of four miles along a narrow road to Macpherson's garden-house, to the accompaniment of much grumbling by Hickey's companion, "who was then turned of seventy years of age." Here they knocked up the coachman,

(24) The old powder mills were about eight miles below Calcutta. Hastings also went home in the *Berrington*, and Mr. Justice Hyde records in his note book on February 1, 1785, that "the Governor-General goes on board his boat from the Powder Mills at four o'clock this afternoon."

(25) "One of the most respectable and experienced pilots in the service" (Hickey, Vol. IV. p. 7). He subsequently became deputy to the master attendant (Cudbert Thornhill) and died in Calcutta on April 3, 1802.

(26) Carnac had come from Bombay. He sailed from that place on October 16, 1786, in the *Queen* Indiaman, Capt. Peter Douglas, and arrived in Calcutta on December 16. Macpherson went on board the *Berrington* on January 27, 1787. On July 2 (we read in the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 5, 1787) "was launched from the Marine Yard a very fine copper bottomed ship of about 700 tons burthen which was named by General Carnac the *Clive*—the largest vessel that ever was built at Calcutta. She is the property of Mr. Anthony Lambert [Sheriff of Calcutta in 1792] who after the launch gave an elegant dinner to a very numerous company at the Old Court House and a ball in the evening to the ladies."

John Carnac had fought at Plassey and entered the Company's service as a captain from Adlercron's regiment (the 39th Foot) in 1758. He accompanied Clive to England in 1767 with a fortune of nearly £33,000, which he received as his share of the money distributed at the accession of Najm-ud-Daula to the *musnud* of Moorshedabad. After sitting in the House of Commons as member for Leominster from 1768 to 1774, he was appointed member of Council at Bombay in 1776 but was dismissed in 1780 for his share in concluding the convention of Wargaum with the Mahrattas. He remained in India and died on November 29, 1800, at the age of eighty-four, at Mangalore on the West Coast. With Macpherson, Stables and Zoffany himself, he figures in that painter's picture of "A Tiger Hunt near Chandernagore," which has recently been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall. In 1794 he paid another visit to Calcutta. The *Bombay Courier* records that he sailed from Bombay for Bengal on September, and reached Madras on September 25.

and eventually reached Calcutta at six in the morning, "the old General swearing he would for the rest of his life take care to avoid cruising in the dark."

Upon the answer being filed, Johnson (says Hickey), "like a true friend and honest solicitor," again warned Humphry that "there was no possibility of going on with the suit," and advised him to apply for leave to dismiss his own bill on payment of the plaintiff's costs, "as the shortest way of finishing a bad business." Humphry, however, refused to be deterred from continuing the cause, "he having incontestible evidence to support the case stated in the bill." Interrogatories were therefore prepared, and "in due time" witnesses were examined. For a summary of the evidence, recourse must again be had to the Macpherson papers.

George Young, jeweller of Calcutta supplied the interesting information that Humphry on arrival lived with Mr. Stables (27) in Mrs. Hastings' house. This is, of course, the house now known as 7, Hastings Street, which was for so many years in the occupation of Messrs. Burn and Company. Two admirably painted punkha-boards may still be seen in the billiard-room, on which hunting-scenes with elephants are represented. Young further deposed that he set seventeen miniatures for Humphry from August 1785 to January, 1786.

Claude Martin testified to Humphry's presence in Lucknow: and declared that "his portraits had some resemblance." *Tuncas* (assignments of revenue) were usual and were paid by the "farmers."

Gavin Hamilton, merchant of Calcutta (28), said that Humphry painted a miniature of him, about 11½ inches in diameter, in about eight days: but no miniature of him, about 11½ inches in diameter, in about eight days: but no charge was made. Humphry painted the two Daniells in the same week. To the best of his belief, Charles Smith charged sixteen gold mohurs.

Hurro Khan, Humphry's consumah [Khansama] deposed that his master spent three and a half months at Benares and eight months at Lucknow.

Thomas Daniell sat to Humphry on February 18, 1787. The portrait was finished on the 24th. Humphry told him that his usual charge for that size was Rs. 500. He believed that Humphry could paint five or six miniatures a week and make Rs. 10,000 a month.

John Zoffany testified that Humphry while at Lucknow painted portraits of Wombwell, [John] Kennaway, Vernet, [John] Howe, [George] Johnstone, and the Nabob Vizier. Wombwell paid Rs. 1,000 for a smaller miniature than the Nabob's. The other gentlemen paid Rs. 500.

(27) John Stables succeeded Francis as Member of Council at Fort William in 1782 and held office until 1787. He had served in the Company's army from 1759 to 1769, and commanded a battalion at the battle of Buxar. Romney painted a group of his wife and two daughters, and was paid fifty guineas. The picture was engraved by John Raphael Smith in 1781 and a first state of the mezzotint was sold for 540 guineas at Christie's on December 16, 1913. Stables died in 1796.

(28) Gavin Hamilton came out in the *Glatton* in 1778.

James Grant as to whom there is much to be found in the second volume of Hickey's Memoirs (29), entertained Humphry at Benares. While there Humphry painted nine portraits of Indian gentlemen: and Grant advanced him the amount claimed in payment Rs. 8,117.

Robert Percival Pott had been told by Humphry at Moorshedabad that he came to India to gain knowledge, and not to make money.

John Wombwell spoke to the portraits of himself, Johnstone, Stokoe, and Captains Burnett, Sloper, Kennaway and Howe, which Humphry had painted at Lucknow (29A). He paid Rs. 500 for his portrait (and not Rs. 1,000, as Zoffany had stated).

Colonel Gabriel Harper said that Humphry was paid for the portraits which he had painted at Lucknow. While he received cash, the Englishmen in the Nabob's employ had twelve months' or more salary owing to them.

In his Memoirs Hickey mentions the names of certain other witnesses, who gave evidence for Macpherson: Mr. Edward Maxwell, the advocate and police magistrate, Mr. Bazett, of the firm of Colvins and Bazett, Mr. Edward Hay, secretary to Government, and Mr. Francis Magnus. To these he adds Mr. Pott and Mr. Wombwell. The first four deposed that Humphry had frequently professed his sense of obligation to the Governor-General for granting him leave to go "up the country: " and Pott and Wombwell flatly contradicted the assertion of Humphry that Macpherson had informed them that he had commissioned him to paint portraits at Lucknow. Humphry "failed in every attempt, nor could he prove one tittle of the statements in his bill, which was consequently dismissed with costs, the Judges declaring they had never known an instance of an attempt so groundless whereon to commence and prosecute to hearing a suit in equity."

At this point, Hickey's recollection plays him false, as might well be, for he was writing after 1809 of an event which had occurred twenty years earlier. He says: "Humphry's shameful and ungrateful conduct was equally reprobated by the whole settlement, from the disagreeable consequence of which he withdrew by embarking for Europe a few days after the trial." But the case was heard, as we have seen, in March, 1789: and Humphry returned to Europe in the *Earl of Oxford*, which left Kedgeree

(29) James Grant came out with Hickey in the *Plassey* in 1769 and saved him and Jacob Rider from drowning "when overset in a canoe" at the island of Johanna. In 1778 he fought a duel with "Bob" Pott, who wounded him in the leg. Pott was a "staunch Hastingsite" and Grant was "equally zealous on the part of Caving," "the Governor-General of a day." He subsequently resigned the Company's service and when Hickey met him in London in 1780 had become a West India merchant in partnership with his brother Peter (Hickey, Vol. II, p. 271). In 1784 he returned to Bengal (Vol. III, p. 204): and was now "Chief" at Benares.

(29A) Robert Percival Pott (the "Bob" Pott of Hickey's Memoirs) was Collector of Government Customs at Moorshedabad and John Wombwell Accountant at Lucknow. John Kennaway is the future baronet and Resident at Hyderabad. George Johnstone, subsequently M. P. for Hindon, was assistant to the Resident at Lucknow: Captain Joseph Burnett was commissary of ordnance at Cawnpore: and Joseph Stokoe an ensign in the Bengal Engineers.

exactly two years before—on March 14, 1787—and anchored in the Downs on September 18. Macpherson went on board the *Berrington* on January 27, 1787, and sailed two days later, arriving in the Downs on August 11. It is curious that Humphry, writing from the Cape on June 8, 1787, should mention that he was "unfortunately" not able to travel with Macpherson on the *Berrington*: for the company of neither could have been congenial to the other.

Humphry never received payment from the Nawab of the amount of the bond. But the fault did not lie altogether with the debtor. On May 7, 1809, Joseph Farington records in his Diary: "Humphry has talked to Paine (30) of £10,000 having been offered Him for His claim in India. Paine advised Him to take it, on which Humphry flew into a passion and asked Him how he could pretend to judge His affairs." A week or two later—on June 16—there is another entry: "Wm. Daniell said Humphry's nephew had informed him that at one period the Nabob, who was indebted to Humphry abt. £3,000, wd. have paid the principal, but Humphry insisted upon interest with it and got nothing."

Had he like Zoffany persuaded the Resident to endorse his account against the Nawab and guarantee payment, he might eventually have recovered the debt (31). The obstinacy with which he demanded the payment of interest as well as principal had already been exhibited in his refusal to accept Johnson's advice to withdraw his suit against Macpherson, who treated him with generosity and, says Hickey, "never thought it worth while to enforce the decree and press for the amount of his taxed costs, which was considerable." The sum in question, as stated on the brief, was sicca Rs. 5,100.

Humphry was elected a Royal Academician in 1791 (32): but failing sight compelled to give up the painting of miniatures. He turned to crayon drawing and was appointed Portrait Painter in crayons to the King. In later years he developed eccentricities. On May 21, 1808, Farington notes that "Humphry showed me that He had His Coat, Six Waistcoats, and

(30) Humphry was an unsuccessful suitor of the elder daughter of James Paine senior, the architect. The younger, Mary, married Tilly Kettle and died in 1806. Their brother James Paine junior was a painter in water colours.

(31) It must be admitted, however, that Zoffany was among the fortunate ones. Thomas Daniell suffered the same fate as Humphry. William Daniell, writing to his mother from "Baghulpoor" on July 30, 1790, says: "The Nabob commissioned Mr. D. to make a set of views about Lucknow, which he undertook, and under many disadvantages, it being then the rainy season, completed them which took him three months. The Nabob received them, but Mr. D. could never get the smallest retribution for his time and trouble." (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 179.) Claude Martin wrote to Humphry (March 11, 1789) that the Nawab did not like paying Europeans, and "if one could see his heart, it would be found loaded with dark and sinister intentions."

(32) A strange history attaches to Humphry's diploma picture at Burlington House. It disappeared and was missing for many years: until it was purchased at a sale in 1921 by Sir William Plender and restored by him to its place in the gallery. It is a miniature and represents the Ladies Maria and Horatia Waldegrave (two of the three sisters in Sir Joshua

His Shirt on His body and said that Dr. Pearson some years ago told Him that by warmth alone He might hope to counteract a weakness of his stomach." He became totally blind in 1797 and died in 1810 at the age of sixty-seven. There are three entries in Farington's diary on the subject of his death, and two of these are of a remarkable character:—

March 11, 1810.—(Thomas) Daniell informed me of the death of Ozias Humphry, R.A., who died on Friday morning, the 9th instant, at 6 o'clock at his apartments at Mrs. Spicer's in Thornhaugh Street (Bedford Square). His nephew the son of the Rev. Wm. Humphry of Seale near Seven Oaks in Kent, gave Daniell the information to-day and sd. it was proposed to bury Him in the burying-ground of St. James's Chapel, Tottenham Court Road.

June 29, 1810.—(John) Taylor sd. that the night before Ozias Humphry died, He told his nephew that He had not long to live and requested that as soon as He shd. be dead He wd. go or write to Mr. Taylor of the Sun (newspaper) office and inform Him of it, adding "That he knew Mr. Taylor would not let him go out of the world witht. giving some notice of Him to the public." Accordingly Taylor recd. the information and wrote a favourable acct. of Him. Such was Humphry's anxiety to be held up as a character in society.

June 30, 1810.—(Benjamin) West spoke of Ozias Humphry and mentioned a singular anecdote of him. The evening before he died he desired that immediately after his death a person should be sent with his compliments to Mr. West and to inform him that He was dead. Accordingly a man called upon West the following morning with the message as thus stated. This arose from Humphry's habitual desire of importance and the fear of this event not being properly published.

There can be no doubt that Humphry stands in the front rank of English miniature painters. But what would he have said, one wonders, to the action tried before Mr. Justice Darling in 1917, in which Romney was adjudged to be his superior as an artist? An American collector bought for £20,000 a portrait-group of Mrs. Siddons and her sister, which was guaranteed to be the work of Romney. Two or three years later, doubts were thrown upon the authenticity of the guarantee, and the purchaser brought an action for the return of his money against the London firm of dealers who had sold him the picture. At the trial the artist was proved to have been Humphry. Would he have been flattered at the importance which he attracted, or chagrined at being mistaken for Romney?

Reynolds' famous picture) with a fortune-teller. In 1788 Humphry had exhibited at the Royal Academy a painting of a similar type which he entitled "A Bramin in India telling the fortune of some English ladies."

It so happens that there is a remarkably fine portrait of Humphry by Romney at Knoke (33); and, by a further coincidence, Humphry's pictures were sold a month or two after his death at Christie's along with Romney's (34). Among these were several crayon drawings of Warren Hastings: and there is an oval miniature of Hastings (4½ inches by 3½ inches) in the collection of Mr. F. Hampden Turner. The figure is half length, facing the spectator and seated by a stone wall, on which hangs a green curtain, near to an open window: the arms are folded and the head and eyes turned very slightly to the right. Hastings is wearing a black coat with large buttons, a scarlet vest, lace cravat and ruffles, and a powdered wig. An engraving by William Greatbach forms one of the plates in Bentley's *Miscellany* for 1841 (35).

Humphry also painted a charming miniature of Mrs. Hastings in a muslin hat and tulle dress, which was once in the Turner collection, but has disappeared. It was, however, engraved by Greatbach, and a reproduction may be seen in Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings* (Bentley, 1841) and also in Sir Charles Lawson's book (1905).

Numerous commissions were executed by Humphry in India, if we may judge from a statement of "money due to me for pictures finished and delivered," which is contained in one of his note books preserved at the British Museum (Add. MS. 22949-22951): "Governor-General, 1,000, Mrs. Hewett 1,000, Mr. Stables 500, Captain Brown Chunar 700, Mr. Sturt 700, Mrs. Keighley 532, Miss Blair 532, Mr. Atkinson 500: R. 5464. Half price for a whole length figure of Mr. Treves due from Mr. Scawen, 500, Mr. J. N. Stuart Budgerow 100, Mr. Bullers drawing 200, Mr. Ewart miniature 500, Mr. Smoult 200. Pictures sent to Benares to James Augustus Grant: Dec., 28, 1786 Gopaul Doss R. 800, Sheer Jung 600, his two sons 1,000, Aussar Sing Babo 600, Resident 500, Two Dalet Ali Beg 120 each, Deleep Sing 700, Rajah Maha Narrain 1200: 6600 " (36).

(33) Another portrait of Humphry will be found in Henry Singleton's group picture of the "Royal Academicians in Session, 1802." Benjamin West (the President) Joseph Farington (a prominent figure) and William Hodges are introduced: but not Thomas Daniell, although he was elected R. A. in 1796. The self-portrait, which is reproduced as a frontispiece, is in the Royal Academy Library and has been used by Dr. Williamson to illustrate his *Life of Humphry*.

(34) In a letter of May 21, 1810 to Humphry's relatives, William Upcott, his natural son, announces the sale of his "godfather's" pictures (Williamson). Upcott has been called the father of autograph collecting: and his house at 102, Upper Street, Islington, where he died on September 23, 1845, was known as *Autograph Cottage*.

(35) A sketch for this portrait is at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The pose and dress are described at length because they differ entirely from those in the bad engraving by Edward Finden alleged to be taken from a portrait by Humphry, which is reproduced as an illustration to "Johnsoniana or a Supplement to Boswell," a book published in 1836 (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 115). Hastings is there represented as a small and emaciated man, of youthful appearance, seated at a table upon which both his hands are placed, holding a book.

(36) William Nathan Wrighte Hewett (writer 1773, Salt agent at Hiji 1786-1796) married Martha Tuting on September 16, 1785. Admiral Sir W. N. W. Hewett, V.C., was their grandson. Capt. Edward Brown of the Bengal Artillery was commissary of ordnance at

In another note-book are five pencil drawings: "a sketch of the Great Pagoda at Lucknow made on the back of my elephant, May 1786," an "Indostannee Painter," a hookah, and two groups of figures, one of five and the other of three with two Brahmini bulls, both dated "Lucknow 1786." The draftsmanship in each case is of the most finished and delicate character.

It remains to add a word or two regarding the miniatures which Humphry painted at Lucknow. These were five in number, and were portraits of the Nawab, Sahibzada Ali Khan (his son), the Shahzada, Hyder Beg Khan the Prime Minister, and Hassan Reza Khan. Of these he executed fine replicas which were at one time in the possession of Mr. G. A. Pepper Staveley (37) who acquired them in India, and are now owned by his son-in-law, Mr. R. S. Aitchison, of Woodhurstlea, Crawley, Sussex. Reproductions of them will be found in Dr. Williamson's book. Each has upon the back an inscription in the handwriting of Humphry, and all are dated "Lucknow, 1786." The miniature of Hassan Reza Khan is inscribed "Half an hour and 53 minutes: one hour at his house." Humphry exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1788 a "Portrait of Hussein Riza Khan, Prime Minister to the Nabob of Oude, painted at Lucknow in 1786."

This must have been a miniature also: for we have his own definite statement, preserved in the unpublished Macpherson papers, that, in order not to compete with Charles Smith, he declined all commissions to paint in oils both at Lucknow and at Benares. Now, an oil-painting of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, which we reproduce on the opposite page from a photograph specially taken by Mr. F. Harrington, was bought by Lord Curzon in 1924 for the Victoria Memorial Hall as the work of Ozias Humphry. It is said to have been painted at Lucknow in 1786: and if this be so, it must be the picture mentioned by Humphry in his letter to Macpherson of May 4, 1786, in which he says that the Nawab has sat twice to him and to Smith, *both painting simultaneously*. A photograph of the miniature has been presented

Chunar: he died at Bath in 1826 at the age of seventy. Thomas Napier Lenox Sturt (1767-1837: writer 1783) was deputy paymaster of the troops at Chunar, and afterwards of Buckworth House, Dorset: he was the father of Charles Sturt, the Australian Explorer. Mrs. Maria Keighley was the first wife of John English Keighley (writer 1764) and died in Calcutta on November 11, 1787: there are many references to her and her husband in the third Volume of Hickey's Memoirs. Miss Blair was the daughter of Colonel William Blair, mentioned in note (15A). "Mr. Atkinson" may be one or two of that name: Thomas Latham Atkinson (writer 1777) or Michael Atkinson (writer 1780): the latter became commercial resident at Jungypore. Pellegrine Treves (writer 1784) was an assistant at Benares and was second judge of the Court of Appeal at that place in 1799, when Cherry the Resident was murdered by Wazir Ali: he rode off and gave the alarm at the cantonment. John Scawen was deputy military auditor-general. There were two Bullers in Bengal at this time: John (writer 1777) and Henry (writer 1778). Simon Ewart was a writer of 1779. William Smoult, attorney, came out in 1774 with Sir Robert Chambers, who appointed him to be his clerk.

(37) Bengal Civil Service, 1846 to 1873: Judge of Jessore: died at Crawley, Sussex, on October 23, 1890.



NAWAB ASAF-UD-DAULA.

(From the Picture in the Victoria Memorial Hall: possibly painted by Charles Smith).

to the Trustees by Dr. Williamson: and the two paintings can be seen on comparison, to be dissimilar both in pose and in execution. But even if this were not so, the evidence thus afforded by Humphry himself would appear to be conclusive.

EVAN COTTON.

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Alexander Grant's Account of the Loss of Calcutta in 1756.

WE are enabled, by the courteous permission of Sir Richard Temple, Bart, to reproduce the following little known and deeply interesting narrative of the capture of Calcutta in 1756 by Suraj-ud-Daula. It was printed for the first time in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1899 (Vol. XXVIII, pp. 293-301). A number of explanatory notes have been added by Sir Evan Cotton.

There is another version of Grant's narrative bound up in a volume of Warren Hastings' papers at the British Museum (Add. MS. 25, 209): and Mr. S. C. Hill has published it in full in his *Bengal in 1756-1757* (Vol. I. pp. 73-89). It differs in style and in many other respects. The following note, which is in another hand and was added after Hastings' death in 1818, has been inserted at the end:

The author of this Paper was it appears, appointed to act as Adjutant General at the siege of Calcutta and deserted the Garrison with the Governor and others. Captn. Minchin, Lieuts. Keen Muir and himself were all the officers that went down to Fulta.

A. C. S. August 10, 1829.

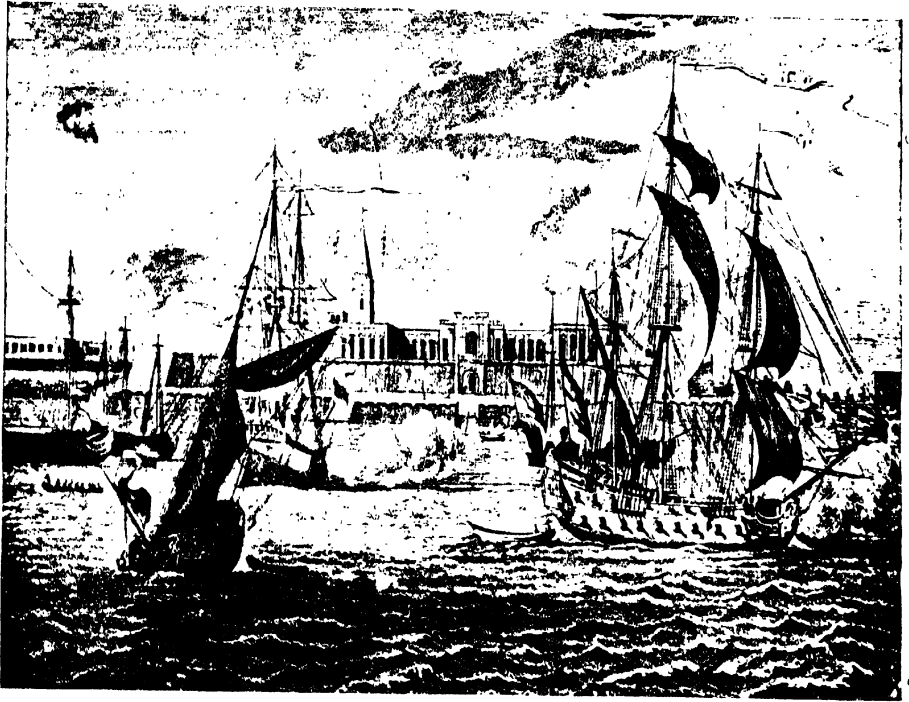
It appears by another account that the Adjutant General was Captn. Grant.

The Orme MSS. (O. V. 19, pp. 173-180) contain a third and briefer version entitled "An Account of Captain Grant's Retreat from Calcutta." This is again different and refers to a missing letter of Grant's to the Council at Fort William, dated August 20, 1756. It is published also by Hill (Vol. I. pp. 89-94).

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SIR R. TEMPLE'S INTRODUCTION.

The story of the Black Hole of Calcutta is of perennial interest, and no apology is necessary for the publication of this document, which is a letter by Captain Alexander Grant, "Adjutant-General" of the forces engaged in the defence of Calcutta against the forces of Suraj-ud-Daula, evidently intended to excuse his conduct. Captain George Minchin, the commander, and Captain Grant were dismissed from the East India Company's service for deserting their posts: and Dr. Busteed, who quotes extensively, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, from the document and puts the case very mildly



FORT WILLIAM AT BENGAL, 1730.
("Painted and delineated by George Lambert and Samuel Scott";
from an engraving by G. Vandergucht).

against the deserters, says: "Desertion in the presence of the enemy on the part of those to whose lot had especially fallen the duty of seeing the struggle, however hopeless, to the end, is a charge not to be lightly made. Any reference, therefore, to an occurrence which carried with it so deep a stigma, should in fairness be accompanied by what has been alleged in exculpation of their conduct by those chiefly concerned. Both the Governor [Roger Drake] and the Adjutant General [Alexander Grant] have liberated their consciences on the subject. Their personal narrative, though it may not quite fulfil the object of the writers, will perhaps help us to realise more vividly the scenes in which they were prominent actors." Weak as Grant's letter may appear to us nowadays, it had the effect he desired, along with his other representations, for he was finally reinstated in service (1).

It was on June 19, 1756, that Grant deserted from Calcutta, and his letter was written on July 13 following. The document now published is not, however, the original (2), but a copy made on February 22, 1774, for John Debonnaire from whose heirs I have received it. This John Debonnaire (1724-1795) was one of several of identically the same name who were wealthy merchants of Huguenot descent in London and India during the eighteenth century.

He was known as "the younger" and was part owner of the "Grantham taken by the French and properly condemned as a prize" before 1765 (3).

The copying of the letter by the old writer is obviously incorrect in places and the style is involved throughout. I have, by means of brackets, tried to elucidate the greatest of the difficulties where possible. Also, in the

(1) Grant voted for immediate action at the famous Council held at Cutwa on June 21, 1757, on the way to Plassey. He was said to have fought at Culloden: Cf. Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh, 1812), p. 8.—"Sion Fort [which defended the passage from Bombay to the island of Salsette] is manned [1809] by a few invalids, and commanded by General [Kenneth] Macpherson, a Highlander, who was in the battle of Culloden, on the losing side, and who at the age of forty, came to Bombay as a cadet in the Company's army."

(2) The original letter is not among the Orme MSS., but it appears to have been written to Robert Orme or some other correspondent at Fort Saint George. There are several references to "your Settlement."

(3) His son, also John Debonnaire, died in Calcutta on October 20, 1788. The present owner of the Debonnaire MSS., Mr. Charles Tennant of St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Lincolnshire, is a first cousin of Sir Richard Temple. He is descended from William Tennant, whose second wife Ann Debonnaire (1775-1829) was the other child of John Debonnaire "the younger."

Another John Debonnaire, known as "the elder," who was the son of Peter Debonnaire and first cousin of John "the younger," was the grandfather of Lord Metcalfe. He is described as "a merchant at Lisbon and in the East Indies" and died in 1756. His daughter Susanna Salina Sophia married at St. Mary's Church, Fort Saint George on August 24, 1776, Major John Smith of the Madras Establishment, a brother of General Richard Smith. He died a year later and on April 18, 1782, she took a second husband at Calcutta in the person of Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Military Store Keeper in Bengal, who was subsequently a Director of the East India Company from 1789 to 1812 and M.P. for Abingdon and was created a baronet in 1803. Their second son, Charles Theophilus Lord Metcalfe, was baptized in Calcutta on April 18, 1785.

MS. the text runs continuously without paragraphs or regular stops and such stops as occur are, after the fashion of the day, wrongly placed or of a description not understood at the present time. For the sake of clearness, therefore, I have paragraphed the text and placed the stops after the current practice, so far as that has been possible. Otherwise, the document is presented verbatim.

* * * * *

THE LETTER.

Fulta: from on board the success Gally:
13 July 1756.

Sir,—As the Loss of Calcutta will undoubtedly be represented in various ways, my Duty, as well as my once having had the honour of your Acquaintance and continance, demands my giving some account of it, especially the Military Transactions. My having been Appointed to act as Adjutant General during the troubles, enables me to do it in a more particular manner than I otherwise could have done, had I been stationed at my post, as I issued out all Orders from the Government and saw most of them put in execution. For what relates to private correspondence [1] must refer you to a long Narrative of Mr. Drakes which he informs me he intends to transmit by this conveyance (4). You must have already rec'd the Accounts of the Surrender of Cossimbazar on the 4th of June, and the manner Mr. Watts was decoy'd and made Prisoner in the Nabobs Camp and obliged to deliver up the Fort. We have despatched Patamers (5) for that Purpose when we rec'd the news on the 7th. We may justly impute all our Misfortunes to the Loss of that place, as it not only supplied our enemy with artillery and ammunition, but flush'd them with hopes to make as easy a conquest of our chief settlement, not near so defensible against any Number of a Country Enemy, and [there] were no Apprehensions but it could hold out, had they attacked it (6), till we were enabled by the Arrival of Supplies from your Settlement to march to its relief. It is defended by 4 Solid Bastions, each mounting 10 peices of Cannon, 6 and 9 Pounders, besides a Line in the curtain to ye

(4) In a letter written on board the sloop *Syren* off Fulta on July 14, 1756, to the Council at Fort Saint George, Drake says that "the mind cannot recover itself, in our present situation, to transmit you such a narration of the event passed by the capture of Calcutta by the Moors, as the circumstances thereof require to be penned with impartiality, which it shall be my strictest endeavours to set forth when I am eased of the anxiety my station has drawn on me. "The 'long' narrative," to which Grant refers is "dated at Fulta this 19th July, 1756" and is among the Orme MSS. It is reproduced in Hill's *Bengal in 1756-1757* (Vol. I., pp. 118—161).

(5) *Patamer*, or *Pattamar*: a foot-runner or courier: perh. from the Konkani *path-mar* (Hobson-Jobson). Cf. Downing, *History of the Indian Wars* (1737), p. 130: "A Pattimar (or what we call an express here) is near a month in going from Surat to Delhi."

(6) Cf. Drake's Narrative, dated July 19, 1756 (Hill, Vol. I., p. 129): "We had always been of opinion that the fort at Cossimbazar was in no danger from a Moors army and confirmed therein from the positiveness of Mr. Grant, who had been an officer there."

River of 24 Guns, from 2 to 4 Pounders all tolerably well mounted, and most of them on field carriages, 8 or 10 Cohorns (7) Mortars, 4 and 5 Inches, with a good Quantity of Shells and a proportionable Supply of all kinds of Amunitions. It is garrisoned by a Lieutenant (8) and 50 Military, most Europeans, and a Sergeant, Corporal and 3 Matrosses (9) of the Artillery and 20 good Lascars. 1 or 2 Houses that stood close to the Walls were commanded by so many Guns that the Enemy cou'd not keep possession of them.

When we receiv'd the news of Cossimbazars being taken by the Nabob and of his Intentions to march against us, with the Artillery and Amunition of that place and with an army, as we where [were] informed, of 50,000 Horse and foot, stated with the promise of the emence [immense] Plunder expected in Calcutta: we began to think of our Long neglected defenceless State and our Situation, and to receive our Enemy which we always despised but now thought worth our consideration. That we were in this defenceless situation can't be imputed to our Masters in England, as our Governour and Council have had reapedet injunctions w[i]th in this' twelve months past to put the place in the best posture of defence possible. But such orders [and] the Representations [which] have been made by some officers of the Necessity and manner of doing it have been constantly neglected being always Lull'd in such an unfortunate state of security in Bengal, that nothing but an Army before the walls cou'd convince us but every Rupee expended on Military Services was so much lost to the Company.

I will now proceed to Inform you as well as Possible what our Situation was to stand a seize (10). The Plan of Fort W[illia]m and a part of Calcutta, which I here inclose you and which since my comming on board I have sketch'd from memory (10 A) to give a clear Idea of the manner we were attacked, will represent to you the Situation of our small Fort in respect to the Houses that surrounded it and the Number of Guns mounted upon it. Our Military to defend it, exclusive of those at the subordinate factory, amounted only to 180 Infantry, of which number there were nor 40 Europeans, and 36 Men of the Artillery Company (11), Sergeants and

(7) *Cohorn*—a small mortar for discharging grenades, introduced by the Dutch military engineer Baron Cohorn. Cf. Strocqueler's *Military Encyclopaedia* (1853): "four inches and two-fifths is the calibre of the British column"—*New Engr. Dict.*

(8) Lieutenant John Elliott "who commanded at Cossimbazar, shott himself after the place was delivered up." British Museum version of the Narrative (Hill, Vol. I., p. 89).

(9) *Matross*—cf. A. Captain G. Smith's *Universal Military Dictionary* (1779): "Matrosses are properly apprentices to the gunner. . . they assist in loading, firing and spunging the great guns."—Hobson-Jobson.

(10) Orme describes Fort William as "a building which many an old house in this country (England) exceeds in its defences." The gates to the north-west and south-west "would resist one shot of a six pounder, but would be forced by the second" (Vol. III. p. 126.)

(10A) Not reproduced.

(11) Buckle in his memoirs of the Bengal Artillery says that in 1756 the Bengal Company of Artillery was commanded by Captain Lawrence Witherington, with headquarters at Fort William and detachments at Dacca, Balasore, Cossimbazar and Patna. All the artillerymen in

Corporals included; hardly a Gun on the Ramparts with a Carriage fit for Service. We had about 3 Years ago 50 Pieces of Cannon, 18 and 24 Pounders, with 2 Mortars, 10 and 13 inches, with a good Quantity of Shells and Balls for each; but they [had] been allowed to lay on the Grass where they were first landed ever since without Carriages or Beds. Only the 10 inch Mortars we made shift to get ready by the time we where [were] Attacked, but neither Shells filled nor Fusees prepared for Mortars or Cohorns made as well as the rest of little use. Our Grape were eat up by the worms and in short all our Amunition of all sorts such as we had in the worst order; not a Gun with a Carriage fit [to] be carried out of the fort for any use, except the two field pieces which was sent us from your Settlement, It's true on receipt of ye letters by the Delawar (12) there was orders given to repair the Line of Guns before the fort, and Carriages to be made for those 50 pieces of Cannon to be mounted upon, and likewise to repair the Carriages upon the Bastions: but these things where [were] just began when we received intelligence of ye Loss of Cossimbazar and contributed little to pre-pair us for what we expected. The Military Captains were ordered to attend Council to give their Advice in Regard to what was Necessary to be done for the Defence of ye Place, as it was all along proposed to defend the Town as well as ye Fort. An extensive line was first form'd for that intent. So little notion had the People of any Vigorous attack that it was esteemed sufficient to have a Battery of 1 or 2 Guns in each principal road to defend us from any attack of a Black Enemy: but the Considerations of our small number of Troop[s] determined us to contract our Batterys to the places marked in the Plan (13). The militia was formed in to three Companys: one of European to the Number of 60 and the other two Consisted of Arminians and Country Portuguesse to ye Number of 150, exclusive of those 50 of the Company's Servants and young Gentlemen of the Place entered as Volunteers in the Military Company's and [who] did duty in every respect as Common Centinal's and on every Occasion shewed the greatest Spirit and Resolution.

the Fort—the number of whom he places at 45—perished in the Black Hole, including their commandant. An entry in the battery-record of the 2nd Mountain Battery R.G.A. reads: "A portion of this Company perished in the Black Hole, the remnant at Plassey" (*Pioneer*, August 17, 1902).

(12) The *Delaware*, Captain Thomas Winter, had left Madras on May 11 for Bengal with the orders of the Court of Directors to prepare for a war with France. She returned to Madras before the siege began, and arrived at Culpee on July 28 with Major James Kilpatrick and 200 troops which had been hurriedly despatched on July 21, upon the receipt of the first letters regarding the outbreak of hostilities in Bengal (Hill).

(13) The Eastern battery (referred to by Grant as H) was placed "across the avenue leading to the esatward in advance of the great gateway of the Fort and having the Mayor's Court on its left": it may be located near the spot now occupied by St. Andrew's Church. The northern battery was on the river bank near the foot of what is now Clive Ghat Street "close to the saltpetre godowns on the cross road that passes behind the Fort and leads by way of the Strand to Chitpore." The Southern battery (Grant's B) was placed "some three hundred yards south of the Fort at the corner of the burying ground and commanding one of the principal roads" and "Mrs. Prance's bridge" across the creek: in other words, at the junction now formed by Council House Street, Hastings Street, and Government Place.

Carpenters and Workmen of all sorts were taken into Pay to make Gun Carriages etca., and everything else ordered to be got in Readiness that might be necessary for a Seige.

From the 7, when we rece[ive]d the news of Cossimbazars being lost and the Nabobs intentions to march to Calcutta, to the 16th June was all the time we had to prepare every thing, from the defenceless state we where [were] in to what was Necessary for the Reception of such a numerous Enemy; and such was the Nabob's Rapidity that in 12 days from his getting possession of Cossimbazar he was with us at Calcutta. The 4th he march'd, with a numerous Army and a large train of Artillery upwards of 100 Miles [a]cross rivers and swampy Roads, to his first attack of Calcutta. The 16th Messrs. Holwell, Macket and Mapletoft were appointed captain of the 3 Millitia company[s]. Mr. Frankland, Lieutenant Colonel, and Mr. Manningham Colonel (14), with Subalterns in proportion. The Military Volunteers and Militia were disposed of, when the Batteries were finished and carriages made for the Guns as you see in ye Plan, in which Situation we stood prepared to receive our Enemy: tho' to the last scarce any cou'd be persuaded that he wou'd attack us in any other way than by forming a Blockade, till he obtained a sum of Money and a Compliance with his demands.

On ye 16 he attacked ye Redoubt at Porrin [Perrins] with 6 Pieces of Cannon (15); but on the approach of a Reinforcement with 2 field pieces (16), they withdrew them and inclined to the Southward, where taking possession of a Top of a Wood they fired very briskly from the opposite side of a Ditch on a part of the Detachment, which was Advanced beyond the Redowbt, killed one of ye Gentlemen Volunteers (17) and 4 Europeans Soldiers. On the Enemys Approaching still more to ye Southward along ye great Ditch (18) that Surrounded ye Town, and we having Intelligence they had crossed it and taking possession of Onychaund's Garden (18A) and ye great road by it, the Reinforcement was ordered back from

(14) Charles Manningham was Third in Council and Export Warehouse-keeper: and actually next in authority to the Governor, as William Watts, Second in Council was Chief at Cossimbazar. William Frankland was sixth in Council and Import Warehouse-keeper. John Zephaniah Holwell was eighth in Council and Zemindar, William Macket ninth in Council and Buxey, and Robert Mapletoft junior chaplain.

(15) Perrin's Redoubt was to the north in Bagh Bazar and covered the approaches to the Chitpore Bridge which crossed the Chitpore creek.

(16) The reinforcement consisted of Lieut. Thomas Blags with 40 Europeans, an 18 pounder and two brass field-pieces.

(17) Ralph Thoresby, a writer of 1753, and assistant in the cutcherry. He was twenty-three years of age.

(18) The reference is to the Mahratta Ditch (constructed in 1742), which except for a détour on the north-east at Halsibagan, to enclose the garden houses of Omichand and Gobindram Mitter the "Black Zemindar," followed the modern Circular Road from Perrin's Point at the north-west extremity of Suttanuttee, where the Chitpore creek meets the river, down to a spot near the junction of "John Bazar" (Corporation Street) and Lower Circular Road, at Entally corner.

(18A) Omichand had another house in Lyons Range.

Perrins: and Ensign Piccard left in his post, as before. The Enemys cannon had played at ye same time on a Sloop (19) that lay'd [a] cross to ye Redoubt to recover [recover] the Ditch and killed 4 Europeans [on board]. We had no further molestation from [them] that Night (20), nor any further intelligence than that they occupied the E[a]sterly corner of the Black Town from Onychaunds Garden to the Bread and cheese Bunglo (21), and that the Nabob himself had taken possession of Dumdum House for his Head Quarters.

The 17th in ye Morning we planted 2 small pieces of cannon in ye Goal [jail] House to scour the different Roads which terminate at ye Place (22) and which way we expected the enemy would advance: Likewise sent 12 Military and Militia and 40 Buxerries (23), to take Possession of it under the command of Monsr. Le Beaume, a French Officer who had taken the Protection of our Flag sometime before (24), and fortified the house with Loophous [loop holes]. The enemy did not appear in sight of any of our Batteries this Day: but the Plunderers ravaged all ye Black town. We had numbers of Prisoners brought in by our Buxeries: but their Accounts of the Nabobs situation and Strength varied so much that we could not lay any stress upon it. Our own Intelligence all along from our Spies was equally so. These Prisoners in General told us that he had all the Cossimbuzars cannon and 10 or 15 pieces, which he brought from Muscadabad [Magsudabad, Moorshedabad] of a Larger Size, besides number of swivils and wall pieces mounted on camels and elephants: that his Troops Consisted from 20 to 30,000 Horse and foot. This night our Peons and Buxeries to the number of 500 deserted us as did our Lascars and Cooleys some days before: [so] that we had not a Black Fellow to draw or worke a Gun, not even to carry a Cotton Bale or Sand bag on ye Ramparts: and what work of that kind had been done was by the Military and Militia. This want of Workmen

(19) The *Fortune* ketch (Capt. Campbell) and the *Chance* sloop (Capt. Alex. Champion) had been sent up the river to assist the garrison at Perrins.

(20) Ensign Edward Piccard, who had served on the coromandel coast, crossed the ditch at midnight with his party, seized and spiked the four pieces of cannon, drove the enemy out of the wood, and returned without the loss of a man. He was one of the victims of the Black Hole (Holwell's letter of February 28, 1757, to William Davis: Hill, III, 153).

(21) The Bread and Cheese Bungalow was close to the Boytaconnah Tree at the corner of Circular Road on the spot now occupied by the southern portion of Sealdah Station.

(22) The jail-house was about two hundred yards beyond the eastern battery. Four roads met at this point: Lall Bazar, Bow Bazar Street, Chitpore Road and Cossaitollah (Bentinck Street).

(23) *Buxeries* match lock men. Mr. W. Irvine has suggested a derivation from the town of Baksar (Buxar) on the authority of the *Dastur-i-Alam* (Brit. Mus. MS. No. 1641, fol. 58b), a manuscript of 1690-1691, which gives Baksariyahs as one of the divisions of the Mogul army. Buchanan Hamilton (Vol. I. p. 471.) mentions the large recruitment to the company's army from this district. There is also a Portuguese word *buxo*, which means gun-barrel (Hobson-Jobson).

(24) Melchior Le Beaume had left Chandernagore "on a point of honour."—British Museum version of the narrative. He voted against immediate action before Plassey.

at Last, and Scarcity at ye Beginning, harras'd us Prodigiously and prevented our doing several Works that could have been necessary.

The 18th pretty early the enemy began to make their appearance in all quarters of ye Town: but did not seem as if they would advance openly against our Batteries, rather as if they were resolved to make their approaches by taking possession of the Intervening Houses. We accordingly fortified such houses as we thought commanded our Batteries with as many men as could possibly be spared. They first advanced towards the Goal [jail] by the road that leads to Perrins through the black town (25) and brought 2 pieces of cannon against it: one of them by the size of the Ball not less than an 18 Pounder. We were likewise advised by our spies and Prisoners that the Nabobs Artillery was commanded by a French Renegado, who had been an officer at Pondicherry and gave him the title of Marquis De St. Jaque [Jacques] and had under his command 25 Europeans and 85 Chittygan Fringees (26).

On their Advancing their cannon against the Goal [jail] we detached from the [Eastern] Battery H an officer 20 men and ye 2 field pieces, to reinforce Mr. Le Beaumes Fort, who maintained it from 11 to 2 in ye afternoon exposed to a very warm fire from 2 pieces of cannon and a Quantity of Musquetry. The enemy having lodg'd themselves in all ye Houses that surrounded the place [and] Monsr. Le Beaume and Ensign Curstairs (27), the Officer who was advanced to support him, being both wounded, and several of their Men killed, they had orders to retire with their 2 field Pieces. The enemy took immediate Possession of ye Place as soon as we abandoned it: as they did off [of] Mr. Dumbletons, Alsops, ye Play House and the Houses behind ye St. [it and] Lady Russels (28); from which Places and every hole the [y] could creep into, under any sort of cover, they kept a very close fire on the battery and houses, whenever they saw any of our men Lodg'd. By firing our Cannon on such Houses as they could bear upon, we obliged them often to quit them: but fresh supplies came up to relieve them. We must in this manner have destroyed Numbers, tho' all we could do, from ye cannon of the Batteries and Fort and our small Arms from the Tops and windows of the different Houses we occupied, was of no effect in Retarding their progress. Had our Shells been properly serv'd, they must have been of greater Use for this purpose than all our Artillery: but such as we fired either burst as they quitted the Mortars or before they got half way.

(25) Now the Chitpore road.

(26) "By Feringy I mean the black *mustee* [half breed] Portuguese Christians residing in the Settlement as a people distinct from the normal and proper subjects of Portugal: and as a people who sprung originally from Hindoos or Mussulman."—Holwell (Letter in Beng. Consult. June 16, 1755).

(27) Peter Carstairs escaped wounded to Fulta and died of wounds near Patna in 1763 during the troubles with Mir Kasim. Hill thinks that he was one of the Survivors of the Black Hole.

(28) The Play house was at the corner of Lall Bazar and the Rope-Walk. Towards the north and in a line with it were Dumbleton's and Lady Russell's houses. Alsop's house faced Lall Bazar and was between the Play house and the Jail.

They had now possess'd the Houses in all Quarters of the Town in Multitudes and by their Superio[ri]ty obliged most of our Men to quit the Houses they occupied. The first place they broke in upon our lines was through Mr. Nixons House and the breast work close to Mr. Puthams (29). the Sergeant of that place having retreated and left some of the Gentlemen Volunteers to free their way through the enemy from Capt. Minchins House where 2 of them were left a sacrifice to their mercy (30). They poured into the square (31) in swarms, planted their colours at the corner of ye Tank and took immediate possession of all ye Houses in that square. We had only 2 Guns from ye flank of ye N. E[as]t Bastion (32) that could bear on that part of ye town. Their footing was now too firm, by being in Possession of so many Houses within our Lines that it was impossible to think of Dispossessing them from so many Houses which se[e]med as Forteresses against our small Numbers. They brought up their cannon soon after to play upon ye passages to and from our Batteries.

This situation of ye enemy within our Lines made it necessary to order Capt. Burchanon to retire with his canon from Battery B to D (33), as his communication with the Fort might have been cut off by ye enemys advancing in his rear through the lane that leads to my House and betwixt Capt. Claytons Battery at H (34): where on my arrival I was surprized by finding the Guns of ye Battery spiked and Orders given them to retire with only the 2 field pieces into the fort. I requested their patience as I found no

(29) William Nixon was a free merchant and Manningham's "writer." His house was at the north-east corner of the Little Tank, which was on the northern side of Dalhousie Square, a little to the east of where Vansittart Row now is. John Putham was the Company's attorney. His house was behind the little Tank, to the south of Nixon's house and a palisade had been placed between them. Captain Minchin's house was to the south again of Putham's: both had the creek in rear. Putham and Nixon both escaped to Fulda.

(30) Eight of this little force of volunteers were Company's servants, and two were seafaring men. They defended themselves on the roof until their ammunition was exhausted and then forced their way to the Fort with the bayonet. The two killed were Charles Smith assistant in the storekeeper's office and Robert Wilkinson, assistant in the cutcherry: aged 23 and 20 respectively. All the others were wounded. They had accounted for 173 of the enemy (Hill).

(31) The Great Tank was surrounded by a square known as the Park or Lall Bagh.

(32) The north-east bastion faced Clive Street and Fairlie Place.

(33) Capt. John Buchanan who was in command of the southern battery, withdrew to an inner battery which was placed across the road at the corner of Koila Ghat Street. He was one of the victims of the Black Hole and his widow Mrs. Mary Buchanan, the daughter of Colonel Caroline Francis Scott the Late Commandant (who died in 1754) married Warren Hastings during the dismal days at Fulda and died at Cossimbazar in 1759.

(34) Some sentences are omitted. The British Museum version has: "The situation of the enemy exposed the battery B to have its communication cut off from the Fort, as the enemy might surround them in the rear by advancing through the lane that passes by Captain Grant's house and between Captains Buchanan's and Witherington's house[s]: it was therefore thought necessary to order Captain Buchanan to retire with his cannon to Battery D. where two embrasures had been opened in expectation of such a retreat. *I think it was about 4 afternoon when I delivered this order and I then proceeded to Captain Clayton's battery at H.*" Grant's house was nowhere near the eastern battery. It is shown on Wills' plan as one of those on the northern edge of the creek, west of Putham's and Minchin's houses and east of the houses of Buchanan and Witherington.

Necessity for so precip[it]ate a retreat till I had spoke to ye Governour. He [the Governor] told me the post [was] represented to him as no longer tenable by the enemys getting Possession of all ye Houses around them and numbers of their Men killed and wounded: and [That] if ye Guns were already spiked it would be in vain to think of keeping it Longer. I return'd towards ye Battery and found Capt. Clayton half way to ye Fort with only the field pieces. I prevailed on him to return w[i]th his Men that if Possible we might withdraw the Guns of ye Battery, especially an 18 Pounder carried their [there] about noon to play on the [houses which the] enemy possess'd, and [so] prevent the shame of leaving them to convince the enemy of ye Panic that must have seiz'd us to be Obligated to make such a Retreat. I desired one half to defend ye Battery while the other Lay'd down their Arms to draw off the cannon: but not a man would be prevailed upon to touch a Rope. I then left them to march off in the most regular manner they could.

The Abandoning this battery was of ye utmost consequence to us, as it necessarily occasioned the withdrawing the other two and confining our defences to ye walls of ye Fort. It therefore ought not to have been done till after every mature deliberation (35). The other two Batteries C and D were soon after ordered to be withdrawn (36), and all their Troops were ordered to return to ye Fort Gate by 6 in the Evening. By retiring into ye Fort we must expect that before next morning the Enemy would take Possession of all ye houses close to our walls, and from each of them greatly command our Bastions and Ramparts. This determined us, as ye only thing farther to be done to retard their Progress, to dispose of ye Troops returned from ye Batteries in ye Houses of Mr. Cruttendon, Eyre, the company and ye church: which was accordingly done before 8 at night (37).

The detachment in ye Companys house, on ye Enemys Approach and their getting possession of Capt. Renny's house (38). Thought their situation too dangerous to be maintain'd on ye Approacr of Day, and that their communication was liable to be cut off from ye fort by ye lane that leads

(35) Clayton spiked his guns so carelessly that the enemy were able to use them the next day and inflict serious damage with them.

(36) Orders were also sent to Capt. Lieut. Peter Smith to retire from the northern battery: and boats were despatched to bring Piccard and his twenty men from Perrin's redoubt.

(37) St. Anne's Church stood at the corner of Clive Street and Dalhousie Square on the site of the old council-chamber at the western end of Writers' Buildings. Cruttender's house was on the river bank separated by a lane from the north-west bastion of the Fort. Eyre's house was behind the Church. The Company's house was on the river bank, separated by the Governor's ghat from the south-east bastion of the Fort. Edward Eyre was one of the victims of the Black Hole. He was tenth in Council and storekeeper. Edward Holden Cruttenden was a free merchant and escaped to Fulta with his family. He had been second in Council from 1753 to 1755, but had been dismissed from the Company's service. On his return to England he was a director of the Company from 1765 to 1771. His daughter Sarah who was baptized in Calcutta on April 19, 1754, married William Hickey's friend "Bob" Pott at Berhampore on May 18, 1786, and died at Dacca on September 18, 1807.

(38) At the corner of Dalhousie Square and Council House Street.

to ye water side by ye new Godowns (39). [They] therefore applied to ye Gove[r]nour and obtained leave to retire into ye Fort. The withdrawing [of] this fort gave general discontent and discouragement as ye Enemys getting possession of it would not only expose the Southerly Bastions and Godowns to a very warm fire, but likewise the Gaut, w[h]ere the boats lay, to be so flanked that it coul'd be almost impossible to keep any there. And as many people at this time (by ye Vigorous attack of ye enemy and withdrawing our Batteries so very suddenly and leaving the companys House to be taken Possession of by them in ye night, attended with many other circumstances of confusion and Disorder which then could not be remedied) begun to think that a retreat on board our ships would be the only means by which we could Escape the hands of ye enemy; therefore with ye utmost concern [we] saw this our only means of safety indangered by our forsaking that Post.

We had lay'd in a sufficient store of Provisions, but ye Irregularity of not appointing proper persons for ye Management of this as well as other particular duties, a fatal neglect all along, [and] the Desertion of our cooks among ye rest of ye black fellows, left us to starve in the midst of Plenty. Our out Posts had no refreshments all the proceeding [preceding] day and there was nothing but constant complaints and murmurings from all quarters for want of water and provisions, and but little prospect for a Possibility of supplying them. There was not even people to carry them to ye out posts, had they been ready dressed, as every one in ye Fort had been so harrassed and fatigued for want of rest by constant duty for 2 day[s] before, that it was impossible to rouse them even if the Enemy had been scaling ye walls. Thre[e] different times did ye Drums beat to Arms, but in Vain, not a man could be got to stand to their Arms, tho' we had frequent Alarms of ye enemys preparing ladders under our walls to scale them.

We had by this time thousands of Portuguesse women within the Fort, which caused the utmost confusion and Noise by filling ye Passages in all parts and crouding the back Gate to force their way on board ye Ships. Shuch [such] was the consternation that prevailed in general at a Council of War that was held at 9 o'clock [that] the Europeans Women were ordered on board the ships, and Colonel Manningham and Lieutenant Colonel Frankland permitted to see them there safe (40). It was at ye same time resolved to clear the Fort of ye other Women, and if possible to regulate the confusion that then prevailed: but little was put into Execution towards it. The men for want of refreshment [and] rest and by getting in Liquor, [were] become very mutinous and riotous, and being mostly Militia within ye fort subject to no command. The same complaint[s] were brought from

(39) Koila Ghat Street.

(40) It was not intended that Manningham and Frankland should go on board themselves: but they seem to have done so, in the confusion, and did not return. Le Beaume who had been wounded in the fighting at the jail, was also sent on board one of the ships by Holwell, with a party of women.

ye out posts which could hardly be remedied without supplies of Provisions and men to relieve them from their hunger and fatigue bor[n]e for some days past.

In this situation of Affairs a second Council of War was called about one in ye Morning to consider of what was possible to be done, and how long under such circumstances the place was defensible against such vigorous attacks as the enemy made the proceeding [preceding] Day. You will be surprized to that all this time neither the Gove[r]nour no[r] commandant's orders could obtain a return of the Stores and Ammunition from Captn. Witherington. I often represented to ye Gove[r]nour the necessity of such a return, as likewise to have a strict obedience paid to whatever orders he issued out, but all to no purpose. He had a good opinion of the man and did not chuse to carry things to extremity. There was likewise a great Animosity subsided [subsisted] between the Gove[r]nour and commandant (41), as well as between the commandant and Captn. Witherington, which did not contribute to the Advantage of the service. The first thing done then in this Council of War was to know the state of our Ammunition, and Captn. Witherington being ask'd for what time what was then in store cou'd be sufficient at the Rate of ye Consumption of the proceeding [preceding] Day. He answered it wou'd hardly be enough for three days and that he was afraid a great part that was esteem'd good might prove damp, and that neither the weather nor our conveniences wou'd permit of its being dry'd. This unexpected shock alarm'd every body and [it] was thought very extraordinary that this state of our ammunition was not known before. We had no medium left but must either Retire on board our Ships before that time expired or surrender at direction [discretion] to the mercy of an enemy from whom we had reason to expect no Quarters. It was therefore unanimously agreed in the most expedient and regular manner and taking every circumstance under consideration, the majority were of opinion that it ought to be done that night, as next [morning] such consequences [might arise] as would either make it impracticable or liable to ye greatest risque and precipitation (42). For instance should the enemy get possession of the company's house, as we made no doubt of before morning, and Mr. Cruttendon's, they might without much difficulty force the way thro' the Barriers that leads to ye back gate from those two Houses (43) or from the windows and top of

(41) Captain George Minchin "did not properly exert himself in his command." British Museum version of the Narrative (Hill, Vol. I. p. 77).

(42) The copyist has again been careless. The British Museum version has: "The majority were of opinion that as such a retreat was already fixed on, the delay of it even until next morning could be attended with no sort of advantage but might on the contrary produce such consequences as would either make it impracticable or attended with the greatest risque and precipitation." (Hill, Vol. I. p. 85)

(43) The back gate of the Fort was at the north-west bastion opposite to Mr. Cruttenden's house. Cruttenden's ghat lay between but was outside the barrier. The Company's house was on the south-west river side of the Fort, and next to the Governor's ghat which was also outside the barrier. The exit to the river from the back gate was Crane Ghat which was the principal landing-place.

them so flank and scour ye gaut with small arms that it would be morrally impossible for a boat to lay at ye Gaut or any w[h] were else before the fort. Either of these circumstances would have effectually made a retreat impossible. This opinion was strenuously maintain'd by Mr. Holwell in particular (44): and as a Retreat had been already determined, to defer it till next night cou[ld] have been attended with no Advantages. On the contrary, had it been put in execution then, According to Mr. Holwells and several others' Opinions, the companys whole treasures and ye lives of more than 150 Europeans would have been saved: but it so happen'd that we dally'd away the time till almost Day light, and nothing soled [solid] or positive [was] determined. It was proposed to send Onychaund to treat with ye Nabob, but he alsolutely refused to go (45), and our Persian Writer with the rest of [the] Blacks left us, which disabled us from writing to him. In this state of confusion, uncertainty and suspence did we remain till the Approach of Day.

The 19th in the ye morning finding that the enemy had neglected to take Possession of the Company's house, ensign Piccard, who had been ordered in the night back from Perrins, offered himself voluntarily on that service with 20 men, which was permitted. The dav produced no regularity. The same complaints of want of Provision[s], rest and refreshments was heard from all quarters and little done to remedy it. The enemy advanced a pace and their fire increased from all quarters, having in ye night lodged themselves in all the adjacent Houses. Lieutenant Bisshop (46), who commanded in Mr. Eyres house desired leave to retire about 9 o'clock, the fire from Onychaund's House and the other houses round him being so thick that it was impossible to stand it. Captn. Clayton (47) who commanded in ye Church was allowed to withdraw on ye same Account. He (48) had some heavy Pieces of cannon besides small Arms. From ye Houses to the E. and N. E. of them they play'd constantly from behind the [captured eastern] Battery H. and Play house compound which did a good deal of execution among his men. About this time Ensign Piccard was brought in Wounded from ye Companys house and the enemy had filled ye compound tho' our Men kept possession of it above stairs. The Detachment in

(44) Cf. Drake's Narrative (Hill, Vol. I. p. 154): "Mr. Holwell strenuously asserted the necessity of an immediate retreat if possible for all, and evidently foresaw the confusion break of day would produce, for should the enemy get possession of the Company's and Mr. Crutten-den's house, it was an impossibility for any boats to lay at our wharf."

(45) Drake had ordered Omichand to be imprisoned in the Fort. He surrendered on June 13 without resistance: but Captain Lieutnant Peter Smith who was in charge of the party, found the house [in Lyons Range] full of weapons.

(46) Lieutenant Richard Bishop died of his wounds before the surrender.

(47) Captain David Clayton was one of the victims of the Black Hole.

(48) There is an error in transcription here. The British Museum version has (Hill, Vol. I. p. 86): "Captain Clayton found himself very warmly attacked from in the Church from the cannon planted behind our battery and in the Play house compound and the small arms from the houses. He had several of his men killed with the cannon shott that came through the Church."

Mr. Cruttending's house was soon after withdrawn. Our Bastions were in a very improper state to be maintained against such a close fire of small arms as was now likely to command them from so many adjacent houses: all of them the strongest Pecca [pukka] work and all most proof against our Mettal on ye Bastions. And the Parrapets were not 4 foot high and only 3 in thickness, the embrasures so wide that they allowed but little shelter to our Men at ye Guns. These defects might in some measure be supply'd by Cotton Bales and Sand Bags which we had prepared for that purpose, had we not been in want of all kind of Labourers to bring them on ye Ramparts: and both Military and Militia were so harrassed that it was impossible to make them stand to their Arms, far less to carry Bales. This was our situation twixt 10 and 11 o'clock.

About this time the Gove[r]nour made his retreat on board the ships. As his conduct in this respect, as well as that of those that followed him, will most likely be a good deal canvais'd, and the affair be represented according to the prejudice and interest of different Persons, and I myself among the rest of those who thought it justifiable to follow the Gove[r]nour in such a general state of confusion when nothing further was to be done, I must beg leave to reprtsent the affair in as particular a manner as I can recollect. About above hours we recev'd an Alarm on the S. E[a]st bastion that the enemy were forcing their way through the Barrier that leads to the Companys House. I run down to learn the truth of it and to see the situation of the Guard placed there. I found the report to be false and the enemy not then advanced from the companys compound. On my return back to the Gate (49) I perceived the Gove[r]nour standing on the top of the stairs at the wharf and stept up to him to know if he had any commands. He was then beckoning to his servant that stood in a ponsy (50) above to Gaut. At the same time numbers of Budgerows and Boats had been setting of [f] below and above full of Europeans and only one Budgerow left, where Captn. Minchin and Mr. Macket (51) were ready to step into, at the Gaut besides the Ponsey w[h]ere the Gouve[r]nours Servt. [servant] was. He observed to me that as Colonel Manningham [and] Lt. Colonel Frankland were on board, not having return'd in the night, [and] as he expected that the *Dodly* as well as the other ships and sloops which were before the Fort were fallen down below ye Town, and finding that every body were preparing for their own Safety by their crouding off in ye boats as he saw them, he thought it was high time to think of himself. So without given me time to make an Answer, he run down stairs and up to the side of the river to get into the Ponsey.

(49) The Back Gate of the Fort which gave access to Crane Ghat.

(50) Ponsy or Paunchway—Bengali *pansi*, a boat with a tilted roof of bamboo matting over the stern.

(51) William Macket (the Buxey) was the brother-in-law of Captain Henry Speke of H.M.S. *Kent*. He had at least the excuse that his wife who was on board one of the ships was ill. Moreover, Holwell acknowledges that he and Mapletoft had been working without intermission in "cutting open the bales of cotton and fitting it in bags to carry upon the parapets."

Every body, who saw him go on board in this Manner, crouded to the Gaut and stairs to follow. I just had time to represent to him ye Irregularity of such a retreat and earnestly beg'd him and entreated he would first communicate his Intentions to Mr. Holwell and ye rest of the Garrison: but his answer was he saw things in such a situation as would make it impossible to retreat any other way [and] that he supposed every person that could find Boats, when they saw him go off would follow. I then look'd behind me towards the Gaut Stairs and seeing it crouded with multitudes and Captn. Minchin and Mr. Macket setting off in the Budgerow, I concluded the Gouve[r]nours retreat caused a general one and that those who could get hold of boats to escape falling into the hands of a cruel enemy were the happiest. Therefore with Mr. O. Harea (52) I got into the same Ponsey w[h]ere the Gouve[r]nour was and set off, the last boat that left the Gaut. The rest that crouded to the water side, finding it impossible then to make their escape for want of boats, returned to the factory and the Gates were immediately shut of [after] them.

We proceeded on board the *Dodley* where were Messrs. Manningham and Frankland (53), with more than half the Militia Officers, several of the Volunteers and Gentlemen of the Militia, with most of the European Women. The rest of the Ships and Sloops were likewise crouded with men and Women who had come away from the fort since the Morning as they could meet with opportunitys. In this manner the Gove[r]nour made his retreat. How far he is culpable I will leave you to judge and shall only assure you the Account of it is faithfull as far as my judgement can enable me to give it.

I likewise, on my comming on board, proposed to ye Gove[r]nour to move up before ye Town with the whole fleet, in order to assist the retreat of those who were necessitated to remain behind for want of conveyance: but ye Captn. of ye *Dodley* represented such a motion as attended with great Danger and told him if ye ships moved up again before the Fort, there was but little chance of getting them back. The *Prince George* that remained there that night never got back again but was destroyed by ye Enemy (54). The Gouve[r]nour, on what ye Captn. Said, thought no further of moving for ye Assistance of those left behind. He ordered a Sloop in the Night to move up to see what could be done: but she was not able to proceed as far up as ye Fort, the enemy being in possession of all the Water side. We fell

Of Minchin, Paul Richard Pearkes (Fifth in Council and Accomptant) declared that his "going occasioned not the least concern to any one." Pearkes remained behind and eventually escaped to Fulta: See note (54).

(52) Charles O'ttara was a factor of six years' service and also one of the engineers. The other, Lieut. Colin Simpson, died in the Black Hole.

(53) Manningham and Frankland were part owners of the *Dodalay*.

(54) The *Prince George* in dropping down from Perrins Redoubt, ran aground and was seized and burnt. The Captain Thomas Haque with Pearkes and Lewis (who had been sent up from the Fort) escaped to the Dutch who surrendered them: but they were set free and made their way to Fulta.

down the River just in sight of the Town and could observe numbers of Houses on fire all night.

The following accounts we have from such as escaped after ye Place was taken. They informed us that as soon as the Gove[r]nour retreated, all hopes of a retreat being cut off. Mr. Holwell was unanimously declared Gove[r]nour and the Gates shut: every person in such a desperate situation being resolved to die on the ramparts, rather than surrender to ye Barbarity they expected from the Enemy. The place held out till ye 20th about 3 in ye Afternoon. The enemy soon got possession of Mr. Cruttendons house, Mr. Eyres, the companys and the church: after which especially when they got to the top of ye Church, scarce a man was able to stand [in] the N. E. and S. E[a]st Bastions (55). Before the place was taken, upwards of 50 Europeans were killed on those Bastions, and they were obliged to abandon that side of the Fort intirely.

The Enemy got Possession in the following manner. About 2 in ye Afternoon of the 20th they made a signal for a truce and some of their Leaders spoke with Mr. Holwell from some of the Bastions and told him that the Nabob had given orders to desist from firing in order to accom[m]odate. This proposal was readily agreed to by Our People, and accordingly ceas'd firing likewise, and our men were ordered to lay down their Arms and refresh themselves. In the mean time the Enemy made use of this pretended truce (56) and I suppose they intended it for no other purpose, to croud in swarms under the walls of ye E[a]stern curtain and Bastions and under cover of there fire from the Church etca., we having before been obliged to abandon that side, with Ladders and Bamboas scall'd the walls in an instant and put to the sword such as offered to resist (57). Every Red coat was destroy'd without mercy.

To conclude the scene such as were taken Prisoners to the Number of about 200 Europeans Portuguesse and Armenians were at night shut up in ye Black hole, a place of 16 foot square: where by the heat of ye Place and for want of water which was absolutely denied them, not above 10 of them survived till morning (58). And amongst the dead there were nearly

(55) Capt. Thomas Fenwick who was in England at the time of the siege wrote to Orme that the roof of the Church not only commanded the whole of the Fort but all the adjacent houses (Orme MSS. India, Vol. VI. pp. 1569-1789: quoted by Hill).

(56) Holwell says that the little gate on the west leading from the Fort to the river was burst open during the parley by a Dutch Sergeant named Hedleburgh "now in the service of the Nabob" (Letter of August 3, 1756, to the Council at Fort Saint George: Hill. I. p. 185).

(57) "The Moors scaled the walls on all quarters in a manner almost incredible to Europeans. . . Lieutenant Blagg defended the bastion he was upon till he and his men were cutt to pieces." Letter from William Lindsay Robert Orme, dated *Syren* sloop off Fulta—July 1766 (Orme MSS. India IV. p. 813: Hill I. 168). "Mr. Lindsay, a lame gentleman (having had the misfortune to lose his leg) was permitted on request to quit the factory" [on June 18]. Drake's Narrative of July 19, 1756 (Hill. I. 154). He died on Fulta. On December 2, 1755, he was nominated to serve the office of Sheriff for the ensuing year.

(58) Holwell in his letter to William Davis "from on board the Spren Sloop, February 28. 1757" says that out of 146 prisoners 123 were smothered in the Black Hole prison: and gives a

100 Europeans Companys Serv[an]ts, Officers, etca. Mr. Holwell [was] amongst the Number that survived and is now Prisoner with the Nabob who stay'd but a few days at Calcutta and is return'd to Muscadabad, leaving some thousands of his Troops to keep Possession of our Fort and Town. The Factory and the Church they have destroy'd.

The French and Dutch have in a manner accommodated matters with him [the Nabob] the first by paying 4 and ye other 5 Lacks of Rupees: Tho' each of their Settlements was now crowded with Moors and no Business can be carried on without particular Perwannas for that purpose, so it is supposed he has not done with them yet.

Messrs. Watts and Collet (59) are Prisoners at large now at the French Factory [at Cossimbazar] who have orders to send them to ye court by their first ships. The rest of the Gentlemen belonging to the Cossimbazar Factory, by the last Account we had, were Prisoners at Muschabad and in irons. The Decca Factory (60) are safe with ye French at that place. Both ye Luckepoor and Ballasore factorys (61) got off and are now with us. We know to have been killed during ye siege and dead in ye black hole 30 Companys servants and 15 officers. Minchin, Keen, Muir and myself, being all that now remains of Calcutta Settlement are now hear on board 6 ships and some sloops (62).

Messrs. Drake, Manningham, Frankland and Macket with Amyal [Amyat] and Radham [Boddam] whome they lately join'd, from [form] a Council and Order that they think necessary for ye Companys Advantage. The Nabob seems satisfied with what he has already done and I fancy is very well pleased to see us leave his Dominions. Mr. Drake seems inclinable to maintain some footing in the country, especially till Advices from the Coast. After the Receipt of this news, in consequence of our letters to you on the taking of Cossimbazar and ye Nabobs intentions to march on Calcutta, we are in expectations, in case [the] French War don't prevent it, if a strong reinforcement to arrive in ye river about ye 18th of August (63); but I'm afraid such numbers as you will think necessary to send to reinforce the Garrison of Fort William, not expecting it to be taken, will be too few to

list of 23 survivors. Europeans and 12 military and militia Blacks and whites some of whom recovered when the door was opened.

(59) William Watts was second in Council, and Chief of Cossimbazar: Matthew Collet, seventh in Council and second at Cossimbazar. Warren Hastings, then a factor of six years' service and twenty five years of age, was fifth at Cossimbazar. He escaped to the French factory.

(60) Richard Becher, Fourth in Council, was Chief of Dacca: William Sumner Second, and Luke Scrafton Third.

(61) Peter Amyatt, subsequently killed on the river in 1763 during the troubles with Mir Kasim, was Chief at Jugdea or Luckipore. Thomas Boddam was Resident at Bulramgurry (Balasore).

(62) Lieut. William Keen had been in command of the Military at Balasore. Ensign Mure had been attached to the Jugdea Factory.

(63) Major James Kilpatrick arrived at Culpee on July 28 with 200 troops from Madras: See note (12) and Hill, I, 192.

establish a footing in ye Country now it is lost. For which reason I wish your [our] Goue[r]nour and Council had thought proper to dispatch one of their sloops to advise you sooner: as it might arrive before the embarkation of such troops and enable you to send such a force as would not only re-establish Calcutta but march in our turn to the Nabobs Capital at Muschadabad: which I think might be done, notwithstanding the loss of Calcutta, with 1000 or 1500 Regular Troops and proper field Artillery. The conveniency of ye river that runs through the heart of ye Country, and a most healthy climate from October to March or April, would afford us every opportunity we could desire. The resolution our enemy have shown behind ye walls and Houses would all Vanish in an instant in ye open field and I am sure they are worce troops than any you have. I need not tell you what hand they would make against Artillery well serv'd. It was first intended to send Mr. Mapleto[f]t and myself with these Advices, but they have altered their minds (64).

I could wish that if anything was to be done for the Resettlement of a place of such consequence to ye Trade of India that I had an opportunity personally to communicate my opinion: as my residence so long at Cossimbazar in ye Neighbourhood of ye Court gave me some opportunity to know ye State of ye Country and nature of ye People better than I could have done else w[h]ere. In case of no supplies to enable us to re-settle, I suppose we shall be be able to sail out of ye river about ye 20 of August for your Settlement. What shall become of us Afterwards God knows, most having made their escape. Men and Women, only with their cloths on their back, except such as had resques at Sea. I hope you will Pardon what may appear tedious in this Narrative and believe me with great Respect.

Sir, yours, etca.,

ALEXR. GRANT.

[John Debonnaire, February 22, 1774.]

(64) Manningham and Lebeaume were despatched to Madras on July 13, but Lebeaume arrived alone at Fort Saint George on September 13 with a letter from Manningham to say that he had got no further than Vizagapatam owing to the rains and the impossibility of obtaining palankeen bearers. Manningham, however, arrived on September 29.

An Adventurer in Bengal in 1712.

IN the Orme collection of manuscripts at the India Office (Vol. IX, pp. 2159-2174) there may be seen a paper entitled "The Adventures of a person unknown who came to Calcutta in the Government of Mr. Russell and went to the Moors then fighting at Hughley." Certain extracts are quoted in Part I of the second volume of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*: but it was not until the year 1923 that the whole document was published for the first time in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVI, pp. 113-132) under the title of "An Adventurer in Bengal in 1712." The earlier portion of the narrative contains many interesting details regarding the navigation of the river Hooghly: and this is followed by an account of Calcutta and "the Danes Factory at Gundullparra," a lively history of "Disturbances at Hughly among the Moors," and a description of "Chinchura," Hughly, "Golgutt, the English Factory at Hughly" and "the Bandell."

The document breaks off abruptly, and no clue is given as to the identity of the writer. But Miss L. M. Anstey, to whom the transcription was due, has discovered the key, in the course of further investigations at the India Office.

A list of contents is prefixed to the vellum bound volume in which the paper is to be found, and mention is made therein of the completion of an "Account of the Island of Bombay" also by "a person unknown" of which the earlier part was contained in the preceding volume. For some unexplained reason both these parts of the "Account of Bombay," together with other papers, have been cut out and transferred to a separate volume in a paper cover which has hitherto escaped notice. A comparison of the "Account" of Bombay and the "Adventures" in Bengal reveal the fact that they are the work of the same individual and that the latter is a continuation of the former.

In his catalogue of the Orme MSS. which was published in 1916, the late Mr. S. C. Hill offers the suggestion that the "Account of the Island of Bombay" is a copy of an original manuscript entitled "History of Bombay by J. Burnell, Esq.," which was at one time in Orme's possession (Vol. 282 of the collection) and is now missing. The correctness of this surmise can be established from the company's records, which have been examined by Miss Anstey with the following result.

John Burnell first appears as an ensign in the Company's Service at Bombay, from which place he wrote at least a part of the "Account" of the island in letters to his father, of which the first is dated May 12, 1710. A year later, on April 6, 1711, he resigned his commission and "the charge of Dungaree Fort," and was permitted to return to Europe in the *Tankerville* (Bombay Public Proceedings, Vol. IV.)

The ship sailed in May, 1711, but owing to bad weather did not continue her voyage and eventually made her way to Madras. Here Burnell offered his services and was "entertained" as an ensign on the military establishment at Fort Saint George, as being "a person well skill'd in drawing and has some knowledge in fortification" (Madras Public proceedings, Vol. LXXXV). He did not, however, long retain the good opinion formed of him, for at a consultation held on May 27, 1712 (ibid) he was discharged from the service, "having been guilty of several disorders such as intemperate drinking, abusing the Freemen [free merchants] and company's servants, and disobedience to his Superiour Officers."

Burnell now turned his attention to Bengal, and his experiences from November 1712 until the following January are related in the narrative which we published in 1923. It will be remembered that he met at Calcutta "my good friend Captain Hercules Courtney, a gentleman that had been very serviceable to the Company in the Wars at Fort St. David but had run through the same misfortune as myself, being cashier'd a little before me at Madderass."

We next hear of him in February 1714, when he reappears at Fort William as a map-maker. At a Consultation held on the first of the month it was resolved that:

Mr. John Burnell having with great care and ingenuity perfected a Map of the World in two Rounds 6 foot 2 inches diameter Curiously Embellished with Gold and Silver the Title and names of Places being all wrote in Persian to make it a proper and acceptable present for the great Mogull, which having cost many months time, a Reward for his Pains being consider'd of, we unanimously agree that he well deserves. . .

The reward took the form of two hundred rupees and a free passage to England in the *King William* (Bengal Public Proceedings, Vol. I). The ship, commanded by Capt. Nehemiah Winter, was despatched on February 21, 1714, her passengers having come on board on the 21st: but the name of Burnell does not appear in the list of them, and no further mention of him has been discovered.

Colonel Milles, soldier of fortune and the Ostend East India Company

A BRIEF account of a remarkable and little known Anglo-Indian soldier of fortune, who seems to have dreamed of accomplishing in Bengal what Clive achieved at Plassey, may be seen in the Dictionary of National Biography under the heading "James Mill, fl. 1744, Indian Colonel." This adventurer, whose name is spelled "Milles" in the contemporary sources from which we shall presently draw, "devised a project for the conquest of India and appears to have submitted it in 1744 to Francis Duke of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa of Austria, who was at the time commanding the imperial forces against the Turks."

The scheme, which is given in one of the appendices to William Bolts' "considerations on India Affairs," (Vol. I. 1772, Vol. II, 1775) sets forth that "the Mogul Empire was overflowing with gold and silver and had always been weak and defenceless."

It was a miracle that no European nation with a maritime power had attempted the conquest of Bengal. By a single stroke infinite wealth might be acquired which would counterbalance the mines of Brazil and Peru. The country might be conquered or laid under contribution as easily as the Spaniards conquered the naked Indians of America. A rebel named Aliverdi Khan had torn away the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa from the Mogul Emperor and had acquired treasure to the amount of thirty million sterling. The provinces were open to the sea, and three ships with 1,500 to 2,000 regular troops would suffice for the expedition. The British Government would co-operate for the sake of the plunder and the extension of their trade. The East India Company had better be left alone. No Company could keep a secret and the East India Company was so distracted as to be incapable of any firm resolution (1).

Mr. N. L. Hallward in his book on William Bolts (Cambridge University Press, 1920) mentions neither Milles nor his scheme for the conquest of Bengal. But, hidden away in the columns of the *Calcutta Gazette* for Thursday June 29, 1786, we shall find a further record of the Colonel's activities. Two years before that date there had been published in London the journal of Bubb Dodington, Lord Melcombe, and in it a certain Nestor discovered the following entry:

(1) The writer in the dictionary of National Biography, concludes his notice by alluding to the appointment in 1743 of "James Mill, Esq.", as "Captain and second in command of the East India Company's military in Bengal" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1743, p. 275): and it is apparently on this ground that the name "James Mill" is given to the subject of the biography. But the identification is unwarranted. There is no evidence to show that Milles was ever in the service of the Company. Bolts merely says of him that he had served twenty years in India.

1751. June 27th.—This morning I wrote to the Duke of New-Castle inclosing Colonel Milles' memorial who is in the Emperor's service as Duke of Tuscany. The memorial sets forth that the Ostend Company bought the settlements Banquibazar and Covelon of the Mogul: a rebel seized the province of Bengal in 1744 and took Banquibazar from the Emperor's governor. He desires the King to assist him either in retaking the province with the consent of and for the Mogul or in making war upon the usurper who took and still retains his forts; he submits to the king entirely the share and disposition of the gains and the plan of the expedition.

This plan was attempted about six years ago and cost the Emperor £15,000, and we prevented its execution at the instigation of the East India Company. Mr. Milles assures me that the province of Bengal is the richest in the known world: that he knows where to lay his hands on fifty millions sterling: that he can make himself master of it with 1,500 men (and he designs to carry no more) which the Emperor will furnish; all he demands of us is shipping and stores, etc., enough to carry them, to be added to the three ships which the Emperor now has and which he bought for this expedition before at the time when we disappointed it.

"This reminds me," says Nestor, "of Colonel Milles who came out a subaltern in the Ostend Company's service but finding on his arrival that company ruined became a soldier of fortune. He enlisted a small body of Europeans which he trained to some guns; and the whole country of Bengal being thrown into confusion by the Marattas, engaged to escort the salt boats to Assam."

This business he carried on for some years and, being fortunately there when a rebellion broke out, the King sent to him for assistance. He marched and the rebellion was quelled. The King always expressed a great regard for him, gave him advantages to trade, but did not wish him to establish himself in the country.

When the Ostend Company was expelled in 1744 [sic] he was obliged to leave it also. Being a good soldier he had learnt to despise the military of this country [Bengal] and thought it might be conquered by a small body of Europeans. On his return to Europe he formed plans and endeavoured to get them put into execution. He applied to the Court of London but the event being put upon the consent and concurrence of the East India Company, they damped it: though it is not impossible the plan on which Col. Caroline Scott (2) who had met Milles at the Princess of Wales's Court, was sent, was a part of it.

(2) Colonel Caroline Francis Scott died at Calcutta in 1755. His daughter married Captain John Buchanan who was one of the victims of the Black Hole: and during the dismal days at Fulta took a young writer of the name of Warren Hastings as her second husband. She died at Cossimbazar on July 11, 1759, and is buried in the old Residency burying-ground with her infant daughter.

The last I heard of Milles was from Mr. Barton (3) who returned to India overland in 1758 and was well received by him at Florence where he was a general officer in the service of the Grand Duke.

The rise and fall of the Ostend East India Company are described in the first volume of Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, which was published in 1772 (pp. 317-320). As soon as the Spanish Netherlands were yielded to the Emperor by the treaty of Rastatt the merchants of Ostend, Antwerp and other towns in Flanders sought the patronage and protection of their new master for the establishment of their commerce in the East Indies. Their first attempts were, however made without authority and letters patent, and promptly excited the hostility of the Dutch who on December 19, 1718 seized an Ostend ship off the coast of Africa in spite of the Imperial passport with which it was provided. The Emperor demanded satisfaction but the Dutch replied by the capture of another ship. The Ostend merchants thereupon fitted out privateers and retaliated by taking a Dutch ship. This was followed by the despatch in 1720 of five and in 1721 of six vessels, of which three were bound for China, one for Mocha, one for Surat and the Malabar coast, and one for Bengal. The next event was the seizure by English pirates "in the seas of Madagascar" of a homeward bound Ostender: but four others came safely home in 1722 and the Emperor granted his letters patent to the company which was now authorized to trade for the next thirty years in the East and West Indies and "all the coasts of Africa" and also in "all the ports, harbours, places and rivers where other nations had any freedom of trade." The principal factory was at Covelong, on the Coromandel coast, twenty miles south of Madras: and from 1727 to 1731 a foothold was obtained in Bengal at Bankybazar, on the eastern bank of the Hooghly, above Calcutta and opposite Bhadreswar. To the hostility of the Dutch was now joined that of England, France, and Spain: and as the result of the pressure which was exercised, the Emperor agreed by the treaty of Paris on May 20, 1727, to suspend the charter for seven years: "since which time," says Grose, "the Ostend Company has never been revived."

A further attempt was however made in 1776 by William Bolts, who persuaded the Empress Queen Maria Theresa to send him out to Surat in command of a discarded Indiaman, the *Earl of Lincoln*, which he rechristened the *Joseph and Theresa*. In a letter from Antwerp received in November 1781, by Lawrence Sullivan, the Chairman of the East India Company, it was reported that Bolts had been granted the exclusive privilege for ten years, that a new association had been formed, and that three ships were being despatched that season, to China, and three to India. Three factories had been settled on the Malabar coast, one on the Nicobar Islands, and one at Delagoa Bay, which was destroyed in 1782 by the Portuguese. In 1784

(3) James Barton, master attendant, died in Calcutta on July 7, 1759. He was the father of James and William Barton who were cousins of Richard Barwell, and were both of them in the Company's service in Bengal.

five ships of the Imperial Trieste Company arrived at Ostend from China: but the seizure at Cadiz of the *Imperial Eagle* by creditors caused a panic among the shareholders, and the Company failed in that year for ten million florins (4).

(4) Macpherson's *Commerce with India*: quoted in Hallward's *William Bolts* (pp. 192-194).

The Old Bengal Army

List of Officers of the Bengal Army: 1758-1834: Part one; A.-C. by Major V. C. P. Hodson, Indian Army, Retired List. (Constable and Company Limited, one Guinea net.)

MAJOR HODSON reminds us in his preface that books are of too sorts—those which can be read and those which cannot. He modestly places his volume in the second category and describes it as nothing more than a work of reference. It certainly is that: and if the succeeding volumes are equal to the first, it will easily take rank as the standard book on the subject. But we disagree entirely with Major Hodson when he says that his pages contain little of human interest. There are numerous human documents to be found, if only we know now and where to look for them.

How many of the Calcutta Scotsmen, for instance, who join so lustily in "Auld Lang Syne" at the St. Andrew's Day Dinner, are aware that two sons of Robert Burns exciseman and poet and Jean Armour served in the Company's arm, one in Madras and the other in Bengal? Both received their cadetships through the good offices of the Marchioness of Hastings. The Bengal brother Lieut.-Colonel James Glencairn Burns (1794-1865) was the third son. He was posted in October 1813 to the 1st battalion of the 6th B.N.I. as ensign, and saw active service in the Nepal war of 1814 and the third Mahratta war. In 1834 he was brigade Major of the 4th Infantry brigade in Rajputana and retired in 1839. On his return to England he was appointed a sub-inspector of factories, and died at Cheltenham on November 18, 1865, from the effects of an accident. Lieut.-Colonel William Glencairn Burns (1791-1872) who died also at Cheltenham, was his elder by three years, and survived him by seven years. He became an ensign in the Madras Infantry in 1811 and retired as a Lieutenant Colonel in 1843. David Lester Richardson wrote a sonnet in August 1833, on hearing James Burns sing his father's songs in Calcutta: and William could remember his father taking him to school.

Coleridge had likewise two brothers in the Company's service in Bengal: and both died in the Madras Presidency. Lieutenant Francis Syndercombe Coleridge came out in 1783 and died in 1792 at the age of twenty-one while serving in the third Mysore war. Captain John Coleridge, who was a cadet of 1770, commanded a sepoy battalion in the first Mahratta war and brought it back to Bengal in 1784: he died at Tellicherry on the Malabar Coast in December 1787, at the age of thirty-one.

Another literary celebrity, Fanny Burney, whose "Evelina" captivated Dr. Samuel Johnson, had five nephews in the Bengal Army. Their father was her half-brother, Richard Thomas Burney who was headmaster of the

Orphan School at Kidderpore and died at Rangoon in 1808 in his fortieth year. The most distinguished of the sons was Lieut.-Colonel Henry Burney (1792-1845), the second, an infantry cadet of 1807 who was Resident at the Court of Ava and wrote an account of the mission sent to the King of Siam by Lord Amherst in 1825. He died at sea on board the *Maidstone* on March 9, 1845, while on his passage to Europe. In the next generation the Burneys were represented in India by his son, Henry Bannerman Burney, who was chaplain at Hazaribagh in 1862, and was a pretendary of wells at the time of his death in 1886.

Legal names abound Sir Robert Chambers has a nephew Robert Ewbank Chambers in the list, the son of his brother Richard who was Mayor of New Castle. He was killed in the Jagdalak Pass during the retreat from Kabul in 1842 when in command of the 5th Light Cavalry. Another Chief Justice, Sir Edward Hyde East, lost his grandson, ensign Edward Nugent Croft, in the wreck of the brig *Motichand Amichand* off the sandheads on September 26, 1837. He had only arrived in India three years before and was taking six months' sick leave to Singapore. His father James William Croft, was scaler of the Supreme Court and clerk to the Chief Justice whose only daughter he had married. A tragedy of a different kind is associated with the name of Sir William Ownall Russell, who was sworn in as Chief Justice on July 4, 1832. He died off Penang where he had gone for the sake of his health on January 22, 1833: his eldest daughter married Lieut. Alfred Arabin, Brigade-Major at Barrackpore, in Calcutta on May 5, and was left a widow on September 1.

We have already noted in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 79-80) how firmly the Macnaghtens established themselves for over a century, in the Company's service. Sir Francis Macnaghten the *propositus*, who married Letitia Dunkin, a daughter of Hickey's friend and patron, Sir William Dunkin, had three nephews as well in the Bengal Army. They were the sons of Valentine Conolly who had been a surgeon on the Madras establishment and married Matilda Dunkin, another daughter of the judge's daughters. Arthur Conolly (1807-1842), the third son and the best known was murdered at Bokhara: John Balpur Conolly (1815-1842), the youngest, commanded his cousin Sir William Macnaghten's escort at Kabul and died in the same year of fever while a hostage in the Bala Hissar: and Edward Barry Conolly (1809-1840) the fourth son, was killed in action at Fort Tutamdara, north of Kabul, two years earlier. The second son, Henry Valentine Conolly (1860-1855) of the Madras Civil Service and collector of Malabar was murdered by Moplahs while sitting with his wife on the verandah of his bungalow at Calicut. Another brother seems to have been James William Conolly of the Bengal Civil Service (writes 1822 and commissioner of Rohilkhand) who died at the Cape of Good Hope on July 7, 1845.

The names are also recorded of a son and two nephews of Sir William Burroughs whom Hickey disliked so intensely, and whom Sir Francis Macnaghten tried to disbar when they were practising together as advocates in

Calcutta. The nephews are the earliest in point of time: Colonel William Burroughs (1787-1853) a cadet of 1805, became Colonel of the 59th B.N.I. and died at Cheltenham, and Major Lewis Burroughs (1796-1871) an artillery cadet of 1819, who became a commissary of ordnance and died at Clifton, thirty-four years after his retirement in 1837. The son, General William Burroughs (1806-1889), a cadet of 1824, commanded the Bhagalpur Hill Rangers in 1855. He seems to have been a natural son, born in London just before Burroughs went out to succeed Sir Henry Russell on the Bench, after squandering the lakhs which he had accumulated as Advocate-General. His only legitimate son died in 1814 of wounds received before Bayonne and the baronetcy which was conferred upon him in 1829, became extinct at his death in that year.

Excessive importance does not appear to have attached to birth in wedlock in those easy days. When John Bristow of the Civil Service married the beautiful Emma Wrangham at Chinsurah on May 27, 1782, he was already the father of four children: John baptized in Calcutta on May 20, 1774, Charlotte born at Delhi in March 1776, Mary, baptized in Calcutta in September 1777, and William, born at Calcutta in July 1778. The girls were sent home for their education, and Hickey relates that when they were coming out in the *Winterton* in 1792 with several other young ladies, they were wrecked on the island of Madagascar and remained there until a pilot schooner could be sent from Calcutta to rescue them. Both found husbands in the Bengal Army: Charlotte on July 31, 1795 married Robert Hyde Colebrooke, Surveyor General from before 1800 until his death at Bhagalpore on September 21, 1808, and author of the well known Mysore sketches. She died at Bath on July 2, 1833. Her sister Mary who died on June 9, 1849, married on September 3, 1796, Captain James Tillyer Blunt of the Bengal Engineers, who retired in 1810 and died in Devon in October 20, 1834. William Bristow, their brother, who is described by Major Hodson as "of the salt agency, Calcutta," obtained Bengal cadetships for two of his sons who were both born in Calcutta: Capt. D'Oyly, Richard Bristow (1815-1863) who was a godson of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, the 8th baronet, and Captain Edward Wynre Bristow (1817-1863).

Certain families and names are heavily represented. There are no less than fifty-nine Campbells, twelve Armstrongs, and eleven Bechers, of whom one General Septimus Harding Becher married the daughter of Augustus Prinsep of the Bengal Civil Service and died at Eastbourne on November 23, 1908, at the age of ninety-one. He had arrived in India in 1834 and was promoted to full General in 1889. The Abbotts occupy four pages, and among them is Sir James Abott (1807-1896) who has given his name to Abbottabad. Of the eight Boileaus, three arrived in India between 1798 and 1805, and all are either sons or relatives of Thomas Boileau, the Calcutta solicitor. There are eleven Baillies of whom three, a colonel and his two young nephews, were lost in the *Skelton Castle* on their voyage out in December 1806 with eighteen other cadets: eight Crawfords, twelve Bruces, eleven Blairs, six Beatsons, and eleven Brooks of whom Rajah James Brooke of Sarawak is one.

Lord Brougham had a young nephew in the Cavalry who died at Karnal in 1839 at the age of twenty six. The wife of Warren Hastings contributes a scapegrace nephew, Charles Chapuset, who became heavily involved in debt and was dismissed in 1817. And Richard Barwell's son, Augustus Leicester Barwell (born in England in 1802 after he had married for the second time) was posted in 1821 as an ensign to the 18th B.N.I. but went on furlough two years later, was "struck off in England" in the following year, and died at his seat near Milford in 1844. The other Barwell in the list, Lieutenant Henry Montague Barwell was the son of Edward Richard Barwell of the Bengal Civil Service and was born at Chittagong in 1811. He came out in 1828, was aid-de-camp and private secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra in 1835, and died at Shahjehanpore on August 8, 1837. More surprising is the discovery of a grandson of James Boswell, Dr. Johnson's butt and biographer. This was Major Mruce Boswell son of James Boswell's daughter Elizabeth who was invalided in 1844 and retired in 1849 after twenty-eight years' service. He died in Edinburgh in 1855. He must be distinguished from Captain Bruce Boswell, who commanded the *Chesterfield* Indiaman from 1781 to 1786, and was later on Marine Paymaster and Naval Storekeeper at Calcutta.

There must be quite a romance—if we only knew it—attaching to the six daughters of Johan Fredrik Meiselbach, "formerly Colonel in the Service of Himmat Bahadur, afterwards pensioned and employed by the British Government in India." They were all married in the thirties to officers in the Bengal Army: the youngest in 1831 to Lieutenant George Byron, a great-grandson of the fourth Lord Byron, who was only 29 when he died of fever at Sitapur in 1834. The history of Himmat Bahadur, as Grant Duff justly says, merits some digression. He was the leader of Mahdaji Sindia's Gosains or fighting friars, and after the battle of Assaye in 1803, tendered his services to the British Government to assist them in ousting his old ally Ali Bahadur the Nawab of Banda from Bundelcund. As a reward he received a jagir in the Doab between Allahabad and Kalpi.

Major Hodson's industry in research is reflected upon almost every page. He reveals the parentage of the Honble David Anstruther "Lieutenant of the Yellow" who was married at Cossimbazar in February 1780 to Mary Donaldson of that place, whom James Augustus Hickey describes as "a young Lady at beauty and infinite accomplishments" and the less gallant William Hickey as "the daughter of a needy tradesman in a county village of Scotland." He is Sophia Goldborne's "younger brother of an ennobled family" who "paid £80,000, acquired in this world of wealth" for the post of commandant of the Nawab Nazim's bodyguard at Moorshedabad. Major Hodson is mistaken in saying that he commanded the Nawab Wazir of Oudh's bodyguard: and, unless our own researches have misled us, he is not quite correct in his genealogy. Following up the clue to the "ennobled family" which he gives us, we have discovered in an old Scots Peerage that David Anstruther was the son of Alexander Anstruther (d. 1791) a merchant at Boulogne who married the daughter of Captain Price of the

Company's service and who claimed to be Lord Nework through his grandmother Jean Leslie "styled Baroness Nework." The last member of the family to assume the title was David's elder brother John who died unmarried in 1818. David Anstruther arrived in India in October 1778 as a cavalry cadet and resigned in May 1794, when he went to live at Huntsmore Park in Buckinghamshire. The *Calcutta Gazette* of December 13, 1787, records his departure on furlough on half pay, with his family, on board the *Henry Dundas* (Capt. Angus M' Nab.). Just before he sailed, his son Robert Lindsay Anstruther was baptized at St. John's Church, Calcutta (the year is 1787 and not 1789, as given by Major Hodson). He followed his father in the Bengal Army, became Colonel of the 6th Light Cavalry, and, retiring in 1849, died at Southampton on December 5, 1868. His uncle, Major George Mence, who was the son of the Rector of Kentish Town and canon of St. Pauls and married Elizabeth Donaldson at "Moradbaug near Burrampore" on June 17, 1786, came out the year before on the *Francis* Indiaman with Ozias Humphry who sketched him "at sea 21 June 1785," as well as the Captain, James Urmston.

Several of the names in the list are inscribed on the Rohilla monument in the old churchyard of St. John's. Both Colonel George Burrington and Major Thomas Bolton were killed in the battle of Bitawrah, near Bareilly, on October 26, 1794. Burrington's grand daughter married Captain Thomas D'Oyly and with her husband met a tragic end in the wreck of the *Charles Eaton* in 1834. Bolton receives a magnificent epitaph in Captain Mundy's pen and pencil sketches in India. (1817) which Major Hodson quotes: "This Officer is described as having possessed uncommon strength: when surrounded by overwhelming numbers he slew several of the enemy until his treacherous sword shivered in his hand, and he fell covered with wounds." His two sons followed him in the Bengal Army. The elder, Captain George Bolton of the 2nd Bengal Europeans, was born at Dinapore on June 3, 1788, and died in India on June 13, 1828. His wife Fanny Ahmuty whom he married at Berhampore on March 1, 1818, and who died on May 26, 1885, at the age of 79, must, we fancy, have been the grand-daughter of Colonel Arthur Ahmuty, the "uncouth strange wild Irishman" of Hickey's Memoirs, who came out to India on the *Royal Duke* in 1759, and died at Dinapore on December 6, 1793. In that case her father would be General James Ahmuty who was baptized in Calcutta on October 21, 1775 (and not November 5, as stated by Major Hodson), and after thirty-four years' service in the Bengal Army (1791-1825) died in London on January 12, 1864, in his ninetieth year. Major Hodson notes that he was on furlough "on private affairs" from 1825 until his death—a period of thirty-nine years! He married Anie Fearon, "late of Edinburgh" at Cawnpore in December 1805, and Fanny was no doubt their first child. The other Bolton Theophilus who was baptized at Cawnpore on January 8, 1793, was brigade major in Oudh and died at Agra on March 2, 1838.

A third name on the Rohilla monument is that of Lieut. John Zephaniah Mill Birch of the 2nd Bengal European battalion who was likewise killed at

the battle of Bitaurah. As his Christian names denote, he was the son of John Zephaniah Holwell's daughter Sarah, who married William Birch: and he was the brother of two well-known Calcutta citizens. Richard Comyns Birch of the Civil Service, and John Brereton Birch, the police magistrate. One of Richard Birch's sons, Lieut.-Col. Frederick William Birch, was killed by mutineers at Sitapur on June 3, 1857: and another was Lieut.-General Sir Richard James Holwell Birch (1803-1875) whose service began in 1821 and ended in 1861.

It is strange to find a Sheriff of Calcutta in a list of Army offices. But James Brice owed his nomination in 1800 to the fact that he was the brother-in-law of Sir John Anstruther the Chief Justice. His Military Service was of the briefest (1781 to 1783) and he became an assistant in the powder factory at Pulta. He died in Calcutta on October 28, 1808, at the age of forty-three.

The cadets came from all ranks and conditions of life. Some were the natural children of peers: such as the two sons of George Agar, Lord Callan, the son of Armar Corry, first Earl of Belmore, and the two sons of Thomas Charles Colyear, Viscount Milsington and fourth and last Earl of Portmare, of whom one, Col. Thomas David Colyear, married a Mahomedan lady and settled at Dukhani near Simla, where he died in 1875. Others were the sons of farmers or of tradesmen—a glazier (two sons) a wine-merchant, a mercer, a maltster, a miller, a bookseller, a printer, and so forth. A notable class were the London "bucks" who had been through their money. Many of these had been Hickey's boon companions: Ulysses Brown, who had been in the Horse Guards and who died as a Captain in the Bengal Infantry at Bhagalpur in 1798, and James Crockett or Crokatt whom Hickey recollected as "a dissipated London dasher" and who was killed in action on the Banas river during Monson's retreat before Holkar in 1804. Surgeons, clergymen, country squires, Court officials, city merchants, and Company's servants make up between them a substantial contingent: one Irish dean, Carleton, provides four sons. Nor are all of English nationality. There are several Swiss, such as Major Auberjonois (1787-1837): and even two Danes, the sons of Colonel Ole Bic, Governor of Serampore.

Two sons of Benedict Arnold, the American Revolutionary General who deserted to the British, found their way to Bengal. Edward Shippen Arnold (1780-1813) who received a cavalry cadetship in 1799 and arrived in India in 1801, was awarded in 1793 a pension of £100 a year in recognition of his father's services. He fought at Laswari and was deputy paymaster at Muttra from 1807 until his death at Dinapore on December 17, 1813. His brother Lieut. Colonel George Arnold (1787-1828) enjoyed a similar pension. He came out in 1804 and died at Kalpi in Bundelcund on October 2, 1828, when Lieutenant Colonel of the 2nd Light Cavalry, the regiment with which he was connected during the whole of his service.

Major-General John Carnac who fought at Plassey and died at Mangalore on November 29, 1800, at the age of eighty-four, has achieved greater fame than his oddly named brother Captain Scipio Carnac, who

came into the Company's Service from the King's Army in 1765 and resigning two years later, died at Bristol on October 24, 1812. Another unusual christian name is that of Romeo Arbuthnott whose two sons Harry and Thomas both received Bengal cadetships. The former died at Agra on August 15, 1806, at the age of twenty six, after being severely wounded in the fourth assault on Bhurtpore in the previous February: and the latter was fortytwo when he died at Dinapore on August 1, 1822. Captain Samuel Ishmael Bacon (1786-1819) was the cousin of the premier baronet of England, but was strangely named, for all that. There is also a Julius Caesar in the list: but unhappily nothing is recorded of him beyond the fact that he was a Lieutenant in December 1765. For some reason which is undisclosed, his classical cognomen was borne by Captain James Crawford who was known throughout the Bengal Army as Caesar Crawford: and who died at Kalpi on June 3, 1778, of sunstroke while on his way to Bombay with Col. Matthew Leslie's force to take the field against the Mahrattas. Another James Crawford, who died at Madras (where he had a brother Arthur in that army) on August 24, 1787, raised the Ramgarh Light Infantry in July 1778. It was named after him "Chota Crawford ki Pattan." In one of the notes to the "Sunyassee," a forgotten poem by James Hutchinson, Secretary to the Bengal Medical Board, which was published at Calcutta in 1837, these two Crawfords are confused, for it is related that the sepoys of the regiment when passing "the tomb in Bundelcund of the officer who raised the Corps" stopped to do poojah at his grave, and that a fakir was kept in attendance to tend a lighted lamp which hung above it. The reference to the regiment is unmistakable for it is stated that the two battalions "still retain their respective designations of Burrah and Chotah Crawford."

More extracts could be made: but this would not be fair to Major Hodson. We have said enough if we have made it clear that he has produced a book of extraordinary value and importance. There must be many members of the Calcutta Historical Society who have had relatives in the Bengal Army from 1758 to 1834. To them a study of Major Hodson's entries should prove full of interest. They will find that many strong men lived before the Agamemnons of to-day.

Lutf-un-nisa Begam¹

(Based on State Records.)

IF woman's lifelong devotion can redeem the memory of wicked man, such will be the fate of Siraj-ud-daula, the notorious Nawab of Bengal. His tragic life, so full of blood and tears—his own and his victims',—was bound up with that of a most faithful wife, whose history supplies one more illustration of the poet's words that "beauty and anguish walk hand in hand."

Lutf-un-nisa first entered the household of the mother of Siraj-ud-daula as a slave-girl. By birth she was a Hindu, as her name Raj Kunwar indicates. The youthful beauty and accomplishments of this maiden conquered the heart of young Siraj. His mother gave her up to him, and he dignified her with the title of Lutf-un-nisa Begam and had a daughter by her (2). She returned the love of Siraj, and was always faithful to him. She was her husband's partner in weal and woe alike, and in influence over his life she completely overshadowed his legitimate wife, Umdat-un-nisa (Bahu Begam), the daughter of Muhammad Irij Khan (3).

Siraj's father, Zain-ud-din Ahmad (Haibat Jang), the Governor of Bihar, was murdered by the Afghans in the early part of 1748. Nawab Aliwardi, Siraj's grandfather, nominally appointed the youth to his father's place but vested the actual authority in Rajah Janakiram, his deputy. Incited by Mehdi-nisar Khan, and other evil associates, Siraj resolved to take possession of Patna and to declare his independence. He set out for that city in company with Lutf-un-nisa and her mother in a covered carriage drawn by a pair of excellent oxen of amazing size and bulk, which could usually go 60 to 80 miles a day. On his arrival near Patna in the month of June 1750 he called upon the Rajah to deliver up the city. But Janakiram, in the absence of any orders from Nawab Aliwardi, refused to do so. Siraj thereupon assaulted the town, but was ultimately defeated and forced to take

(1) Read before the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Lahore in November 1925.

(2) "Raj Kunwar was the name of a slave-girl belonging to the mother of Siraj-ud-daula. The latter taking a liking to Raj Kunwar, his mother gave her up to him. He dignified her with the name of Lutf-un-nisa Begam and by her had a daughter who married Asad Ali Khan." Statement of the surviving members of the family and dependents of the late Siraj-ud-daula (25 July 1794).—*Public Con.* 28 July 1794, No. 18. This statement was compiled by Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, the Persian Translator, "from the best information that could be procured."—See Revenue letter to the Court of Directors, dated 29 Dec. 1794, para. 40 (Bengal Govt. Records).

According to *Mutaqherin* (text i. 182) also Lutf-un-nisa was originally a *jariya* (bond-maid).

(3) Umdat-un-nisa Bahu Begam was married to Siraj in the rainy season of 1159 H. (c. Augt. 1746)—*Mutaqherin* text, i. 104. She had no children, and died on 10th November 1793 (5 Rabi-us-sani, 1208 H). See *Public Procdgs.* 24 Jany. 1794, No. 22.

refuge in the suburbs. News very soon reached Nawab Aliwardi, who was then engaged with the Marathas, and he came to Patna in hot haste. He received his grandson with the greatest affection, instead of reproaches, and took him back to Murshidabad. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 94).

At the battle of Plassey (23 June 1757), Siraj-ud-daula was betrayed by his general and kinsman, (4) Mir Jafar, who owed his fortunes to Nawab Aliwardi's generosity. It was his treachery that brought about the total rout of the unfortunate Nawab who, seeing that all was lost, retired from the field to the Mansurganj Palace at Murshidabad. Fortune turned her back on him, and mankind did the same. Even Muhammad Irij Khan, his father-in-law, refused to stand by him in his adversity. Siraj resolved to escape alone. Lutf-un-nisa fell at his feet and begged him to let her accompany him. Siraj tried to convince her that his flight was merely temporary and that he meant to come back very soon with a strong force to recover his kingdom, but Lutf-un-nisa could not be persuaded to desist from her purpose.

At dead of night on 25th June Siraj loaded his jewels and a large sum of money upon some elephants and, accompanied by Lutf-un-nisa and her young daughter in covered carriages, hastened to Bhagwangola. He was travelling in disguise, like a miserable fugitive, his object being to proceed to Patna, where he hoped once more to raise an army. The heat of the day grew intense. Lutf-un-nisa took every care to mitigate the exhaustion of her husband, and fanned him continually with her handkerchief. At Bhagwangola Siraj and his family embarked in boats, but they were obliged to stop at Bahral, a village 4 miles from Rajmahal, on the other side of the Ganges, as the Nazirpur mouth of the river was not found navigable.

Siraj and his family had gone without food for three days and nights; at Bahral he disembarked and went to the neighbouring mausoleum of a *fqqir* named Dana Shah in search of food. The richness of the stranger's slippers aroused the suspicion of the people at the tomb, and they found out who he was from the boatmen. Prompted by the hope of high rewards, they sent secret information to Mir Qasim, the son-in-law of Mir Jafar, who had come to the neighbourhood with an army, in search of the fugitive Nawab. Siraj was captured with his family and jewels. The fallen prince entreated for his life, but his abject humility only served to call forth the taunts and reproaches of men, to whom, but a few days before, he would have disdained to speak. "Mir Qasim Khan, who had got Lutf-un-nisa in his power, engaged her, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to disclose where her casket of jewels was; and this casket, the value of which could not be computed but by lakhs, fell in his hands of course." (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 240).

Mir Jafar was holding secret counsel with Clive, when the news of the capture of Siraj-ud-daula reached him. He heaved a sigh of relief, and immediately sent his son, Miran, to bring the prisoner to the city. Eight

(4) Mir Jafar had married Shah Khanam, the half-sister of Nawab Aliwardi and mother of Sadiq Ali Khan (Miran)

days after he had quitted it, Siraj was brought back to Murshidabad at about midnight like a common felon, and stood in the presence of Mir Jafar in the very palace where he had once ruled as the absolute master of millions.

It was thought dangerous to grant him his life. Miran was secretly instructed to place the Nawab in confinement at Jafaraganj and there put him to death. The task which many rejected with indignation, was at last accepted by Muhammad Beg, a wretch nourished from his infancy on the favours of Aliwardi's family.

The end of Siraj-ud-daula as described by his contemporary Ghulam Husain (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 242) was tragic in the extreme.

It was night. As soon as Muhammad Beg entered the prison, Siraj started up in alarm and asked, "Have you come to kill me?" The murderer said, "Yes." Then the captive gave himself up to despair and prepared for his end by kneeling down and praying to Allah "the Gracious and the Compassionate" for the pardon of his sins. Turning to Muhammad Beg again, he said in a broken voice: "So, my enemies will not leave me to retire into some corner and pass the rest of my days on a petty allowance. . . I see that I must die and thus atone for Husain Quli's blood which I have shed." His speech was cut short by Md. Beg suddenly striking him down with his sabre. As the fallen ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa writhed on the ground, the butcher kept on slashing at him, and Siraj's face, so famous throughout the country for its youthful beauty and sweetness, was terribly mangled. "Enough—that is enough—I am done for—Husain Quli! thou art avenged," these were the last words of Siraj. Then his voice was stilled for ever in a pool of blood in that dark dungeon of Murshidabad (5).

Hated and despised by all though he was, Siraj-ud-daula had one faithful mourner in Lutf-un-nisa. She, with her infant daughter of four years, was banished to Dacca by Mir Jafar sometime in December 1758, along with the other ladies of the late Nawab's Court (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 281) where they were kept in confinement for some seven years; even the slender allowance which was ordered for them was not paid regularly. Their hardships and distress in the matter of food and other necessities of life, rendered their lives extremely miserable. Their small allowance began to be paid regularly month by month, only when Muin-ud-daula Muzaffar Jang (Muhammad Riza Khan) came to Dacca as its Governor. It was through the courtesy and kindness of Lord Clive, the Governor of Bengal, that they were released from prison and sent back to Murshidabad (6).

On their arrival at Murshidabad the Begams submitted an *arzi* (in December 1765) thanking the English Government for their release and begging to be granted a subsistence allowance for the rest of their lives.

(5) According to the *Muzaffar-nama* Siraj-ud-daula was born in 1140 H. (=Aug. 1727—July 1728) and ascended the *masnad* in 1169 H. (Oct. 1755—Sept. 1756). He was, therefore, 29 or 30 years of age at his death.

(6) Holwell, with his usual inaccuracy, says that Lutf-un-nisa and her young daughter were drowned along with Ghasiti and other Begams!—*An Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock*, etc. p. 47.

This document bears the seals, among others', of Sharf-un-nisa—wife of Nawab Aliwardi Khan, Lutf-un-nisa and her daughter (7).

It appears that the Company settled on Lutf-un-nisa and her daughter an allowance of Rs. 600 a month for their support. The Begam received her first rude shock when her only daughter lost her husband, Mir Asad Ali Khan. But further misfortunes were in store for her. Even this widowed daughter, the only stay of her life, died at the beginning of 1774, leaving behind her four daughters of tender age—Sharf-un-nisa, Asmat-un-nisa, Sakina, and Amat-ul-mahdi Begams (8). The Company, in consideration of the family and the circumstances of Lutf-un-nisa, generously continued the allowance (9) of Rs. 600, assigning Rs. 100 for herself, and Rs. 500 for her grand-daughters. On these orphans attaining their marriageable age, Lutf-un-nisa's pecuniary distress increased and she made the following petition in March 1787 to Governor-General Cornwallis, praying for an adequate pension to enable her to pass the rest of her days in honour and dignity:—

“ Since the death of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula and the plunder of the goods and effects of all his relations and specially of myself, I have been tossed about by the waves of oppression and cruelty in the sea of grief and sorrow. I refrain from recapitulating my tale of woe as it can only increase my sorrow, and afflict the hearer. I come, therefore, direct to the point and beg to submit that on the death of the late Nawab Siraj-ud-daula, Mir Muhammad Jafar Ali Khan sent me to Jahangirnagar [Dacca] and fixed on me an allowance of Rs. 600. When the Company assumed the direct control of the country I came back from Jahangirnagar. Some time after, my daughter died and then the said sum of Rs. 600 was distributed in this way that her four daughters (my grand-daughters) received Rs. 500 among them and Rs. 100 was allotted to my share. As most of my attendants and maidservants have been in my service since the days of the late Nawab, I am unable to dismiss them now, for the name and the honour of the deceased must be maintained. And besides them there are the male servants indispensably necessary for the upkeep of a degree of dignity among the people. But I have no *jagir* nor any such resource as might enable me to meet these expenses, and whatever goods and effects I possessed were plundered after the death of the Nawab. Of the four grand-daughters two are married and their expenditure has therefore increased. The other two are unmarried, which means that the heavy burden of their wedding has yet to be lifted up, and this is beyond my present capacity and means. It is a time-honoured rule, and the cause of justice also demands it—that if

(7) *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, i. 452, Letter No. 2761, received by the Governor-General on 10th December 1785.

(8) Petition of Lutf-un-nisa. *R. B. P.* 14 June 1774, No. 20 (Bengal Government Records).

(9) Letter to Richard Barwell, Esq., Chief etca. Provincial Council of Revenue at Dacca, dated Fort William 14th June 1774. *Ibid.*, p. 5248.

ever a chief is found guilty of an offence his wife and children are not held responsible for it in any way. The same has been the practice with the Company with regard to every chief found guilty of unfair and improper conduct, that is the offender has been punished for his misdeeds, while a pension has been fixed for the maintenance of his children and dependents. But my case has been treated as an exception to the rule and I have received no pensions till the present moment by which I could pass my days with some semblance of comfort. I am addressing this petition to you because a kinder, juster, and more generous ruler never came to this land before and pray that you will kindly grant me a pension to enable me to pass the rest of my days in honour and dignity (10)."

But this petition failed to secure any relief of her misery, and she who had once been the beloved consort of the King of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had to end her days on the petty allowance of Rs. 100 a month (11).

A virtuous woman, loving and tender, Lutf-un-nisa ever cherished the memory of her lord and rejected with scorn several proposals of marriage after the death of her husband and, on one occasion, her reply to her suitor was that a person accustomed to ride an elephant, could not stoop to ride a donkey. (*Muzaffar-nama*, p. 106). She was placed in charge of the Khush Bagh cemetery, (12) on the right bank of the Bhagirathi, opposite Moti Jhil at Murshidabad. Nawab Aliwardi and his favourite grandson, Siraj-ud-daula, lie here side by side. Lutf-un-nisa used to receive Rs. 305 per month for the maintenance of the *qaris* (readers of the Quran) and the *langar* (charity-kitchen) and other expenses connected with their graves (13). She frequented the tomb of her husband and for many years employed Muhammadan priests (*mullahs*) to say prayers there (14). She would often strew flowers on the

(10) *Original Receipts* 1787, No. 176.

(11) Lutf-un-nisa had some property at Patna,—the masjid, madrasa, and house built by Siraj-ud-daula's father in that city.—*Vol. of Eng. Transl. of Pers. Letters Received*, 22 Feby. 1790.

A letter of the Provincial Council of Revenue at Patna, dated 4 July 1774, gives the nature of her property at Patna:—

"... The fund appropriated to the support of the tomb [of Zain-ud-din] arose from the profits on Akbarpur Roani, a muqarrari village in Pargana Azimabad, and the duties collected in Mandovi Begampur, a ganj adjoining to the tomb. . . The ganj was the principal source and stood exempted from the Government's taxes by a *sanad* procured from the King by Mahabat Jang in 1156." *R. B. P.* 19 July 1774, Nos. 19-20 (Bengal Govt. Records).

The collection from Begampur amounted to Rs. 1,000 a year.

(12) "This cemetery was first endowed by Aliwardi Khan, who allotted Rs. 305 monthly, from the collections of the villages of Bandardeh and Nawabganj, to defray the expenses of keeping the place in order."—Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. vi., see Murshidabad.

(13) Lutf-un-nisa to the Governor-General. Recd. on 23 Sep. 1789.—*Original Receipts*.

(14) *Journey from Bengal to England*, Geo. Forster (1798), i. 12. Letter dated 31st August, 1782.

earth covering his last remains and, it is said, she breathed her last in November 1790 while in the act of adoration at his grave. (15) She survived her husband for 34 years, and lies buried by his side, in the Khush Bagh ('the Garden of Happiness'), which is still extant and proclaims the unshaken fidelity of Lutf-un-nisa.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

(15) "After compliments we beg to report that our grandmother, Lutf-un-nisa Begam, has died."—Grand-daughters of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula to the Governor-General,—received 24th November 1790. *Original Receipts* 1790, No. 328.

Our Library Table

The Travels of John Macdonald, 1745-1779: Memoirs of an Eighteenth century Footman: with an Introduction by John Beresford. (Broadway Travellers Series: Routledge: Ten Shillings and Six Pence net.)

IN 1790 a volume of "Travels in various parts of Europe Asia and Africa" by John Macdonald, a cadet of the family of Keppoch in Inverness-shire was printed in London for the author and "sold by J. Forbes, Covent Garden." The book seems to have attracted little attention, and the only known copy is in the British Museum. A casual reference to it in Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" led Mr. John Beresford to seek its acquaintance: and the present reprint is the result.

Macdonald was the son of a Highland grazier and was born in 1741. His father fell at Culloden and his mother being likewise dead, his sister who was a child of fourteen, took him and his two brothers (of whom the youngest was two and a half) by road from Inverness to Edinburgh in 1745. He became a postilion and then a groom, and in 1760 a valet or footman in which capacity he served a number of masters (including "Ossian" Macpherson, who wrote his preface for him) and accompanied them to various countries. In 1779 we lose sight of him at Toledo, where he marries a Spanish wife and appears to have settled down.

The interest of his memoirs to Indian readers lies in the fact that in 1769 he went to Bombay with Colonel Alexander Dow, the author of the History of Hindostan, and remained there for more than three years. In the course of seventy-five pages he holds our attention while he describes his experiences on the voyage out and home, and in Bombay. Unfortunately, neither here nor elsewhere has Mr. Beresford thought fit to supply a single note, although Grose's Voyage to the East Indies and Forbes' Oriental Memoirs lay ready to his hand. The account of Colonel Dow, which is given in the introduction is also incomplete. We will endeavour to fill some of the gaps.

Dow's first appearance in the East was as a sailor at Bencoolen where he had fled after killing a man in a duel. In 1760 we find him in Calcutta as an ensign in the Company's service, and he became a captain in 1764. His first meeting with Macdonald was in London in 1768: and being about to go out to Bombay as commandant of the sepoy battalions in that Presidency, he engaged Macdonald as his servant for forty guineas a year. They sailed in the *Lord Camden* under the command of Captain Nathaniel Smith (who was later on a member of Parliament and Director of the Company from 1774 to 1795 and Chairman in 1784) and reached Bombay in the middle of September 1769 "after all the rains were over." Dow, like all

Bengal men, soon tired of Bombay: and when Sir Eyre Coote arrived there from Fort Saint George in the beginning of 1771, he obtained leave to travel overland with him to England. Macdonald remained behind and took service first with Colonel Keating and then with Mr. Shaw a member of Council. At this point Mr. Beresford's researches end. But the Court Minutes of February 19, 1772 show that Dow received permission to "proceed to his station in Bengal on the ships of next season:" and a further entry on December 23, 1772 informs us that he was allowed to "take John Farquharson as his servant to Bengal, the Committee of Shipping being satisfied he is only such." (It is to be regretted that he was "only such," for his memoirs would have formed an excellent sequel to Macdonald's book). Having thus been restored to the Company's service, Dow sailed from Portsmouth on January 30, 1773, in the *Stormont* (Capt. John Rogers). He was at Bankipore in December 1774, and applied in the following June for the command at Chunar. But his next employment was in connexion with the occupation of Chandernagore in 1775: for we find Madame Chevalier the wife of the Governor writing from "Garety" on July 6, a letter to the Council at Fort William in which she claims various articles seized by Colonel Dow and asks for liberty to live at Ghirotty House with a guard of Sepoys. On October 23, 1775 Dow was appointed Commissary-General. In March 1777 he was at Chunar and in February 1779 at Barrackpore in command of the third sepoy brigade. His death at "Boglepore" on July 31, 1779, terminates a career which is, to say the least remarkable, in view of the severe strictures on the Company's administration in which he indulges in his published writings.

Macdonald thoroughly enjoyed his voyage out, and his description of the island of Johanna, a favourite halting place off the coast of Madagascar, is as good as anything in Hickey. "The first thing that was done in the morning" on their arrival was, he says "to send the men on shore who had the scurvy, to put them into the earth up to the neck, and to remain there one Day, which is the most speedy cure in a hot country." As they sailed along the coast of Malabar, they saw a fight at sea between the fleets of Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas which ended in the defeat of the former.

Colonel Dow had "made his fortune in Bengal and was a single man, he did not mind money" and he therefore kept open house. Among his guests must have been Eliza Draper who was then in Bombay for she did not elope from her husband's residence at Mazagon and betake herself to Masulipatam until January 1773: but Macdonald does not mention her although elsewhere he describes the death in London of Laurence Sterne in 1768 in the most graphic manner. In April Dow and a number of friends "made an appointment to go to the hot wells at Dillanagogue in the Mahrattas country inland, over and against Bombay," we have been unable to identify this place and Mr. Beresford does not assist us. But from the clues Macdonald gives us the reference seems to be to the hot wells of Visraboy (Vajrabai or Vajreshwari) in the Thana district, lying in the bed of the Tansa river twelve miles north of Bhiwandi (Macdonald's "Bundy"). They are

mentioned by Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*: 1834 edn. Vol. I. p. 105) who says that in essential respects they are similar to the wells at Dazagon, thirty miles from Bankot or Fort Victoria. This was another health-resort. It was on the coast, 73 miles south-east of Bombay: and Macdonald tells us that "people are sent there just as gentlemen are sent from England to Lisbon or the South of France, for the benefit of their health."

Macdonald also went to "Bencoot" where Colonel Keating, who was then his employer "got a great deal better by taking the work," and visited Darygan (Dazagon). "Raggajee Angerry, a sovereign prince" who received the party on their way back overland to Bombay, is the "Raghojee Angria" of Forbes who resided at "Colabie," (Colaba) "a fortified island half a mile from Ali Bhaug" (Alibag) and who paid a yearly tribute of two lakhs of rupees to the Mahrattas. An admirable account is given of the durbar.

Bombay, in those days (says Macdonald) was about fourteen miles long: the town of that name is at one end, where all the shipping and all the business is carried on, and at the other the town of Mayam (Mahim) where there is a fortification. The Governor lived at Parella (Parel): and there were Bungalows on Malabar Hill which is "like Shooter's Hill in Kent, but rather larger."

The voyage home was made as Captain's servant in the *Hampshire* (Capt. Thomas Taylor) and the description is as good as that of the Voyage out. They sailed down the Malabar Coast, and stopped ten days at Telli-cherry "one of the pleasantest places I ever saw" no doubt because an Englishman "kept a public-house" there. The next halt was at Cuchiline (Cochin) which was then in the hands of the Dutch: and loading of cargo was completed at Anjengo. Landing here was a perilous business, for the surf is the highest in Asia, except Madras. "We got over the first and second, but the third was about twelve feet high:" and the boat was overturned. "With a great struggle we saved our lives and all we had." The Cape was rounded with the usual storm: ten days were spent at St. Helena, "a wholesome, pleasant place and a fine keen scorching air:" turtles were taken on board at Ascension: and after calling at Portsmouth, the ship anchored on October 13, 1772 at Blackwall, after a voyage of six months.

We entirely agree with Mr. Beresford that the narrative which abounds in vivid pictures of contemporary life in India and Europe, was well worth reprinting: and we have noticed hardly a tenth of the good things it contain: but it badly needs the notes with which Mr. Beresford has failed to provide it.

The English Factories in India: Vol. XII, 1665-1667: by Sir William Foster, C.I.E., (Clarendon Press, Oxford: Eighteen Shillings net).

The three years covered by this, the twelfth, volume of Sir William Foster's invaluable series, were marked by the outbreak of war with the Dutch, and later with the French, the Plague of 1665, and the Great Fire

of London in 1666. As regards the war, neutrality was enforced by the "country powers" at Surat and Masulipatam and in Bengal: and most of the ships engaged in the overseas trade escaped capture. The records relating to the Bengal factories are scanty. Job Charnock was at Patna, with two companions: and is busy collecting saltpetre: he "findeth as yet noe stop in said investment." Hooghly, Balasore, and Cossimbazar were the other trading centres, and all were under the general superintendence of the Agent at Fort Saint George. Complaints were made from London of the dearness of the Bengal goods and a hint was given that unless these could be procured at better rates, the company would be "totally disheartened to continue any factories at that place." From the factors themselves we learn that most of the Europe goods sold at Balasore, and that although Hooghly was useful as a central warehouse, there was little local trade there "by reason of the great coustume paid in the way." Regret is expressed that the company have disapproved the appointment of a resident at Delhi: if an imperial firman could be obtained much expense would be saved "in bribing the Nabob or his officers which swarme in every government."

In 1666 the chief concern of the factors arousing out of the Dutch blockade of the two ships, the *Greyhound* and the *American*—which they had driven behind the bar at Balasore. By April 20, the crew of the latter vessel had been reduced by sickness to ten, and the purser was in command. The *Greyhound* had thirty survivors, and one of the mates was acting as master. On May 29 "it pleased the Almighty to arrive in safety" in Balasore river, "shipp *Doreas*, of burthen 75 tuns." She was one of the smallest vessels ever sent to India, and the first to make a direct voyage from England to Bengal. A "privateir of Flushing" captured her, however, near the Scillics on her way home, although she was "fitted for nimble sayling" and carried her into Brest.

On the Coromandel coast, the outstanding episode was the imprisonment by Sir Edward Winter of George Foxcroft who had been sent out to supersede him at Madras. In Western India, Bombay was transferred to King Charles the Second by the Portuguese. The frontispiece to the volume is a reproduction of an undated plan of "Bombaim" in the Public Record Office, which Sir William Foster identifies with the "ruff draught" sent home by Henry Gary the King's Lieutenant-Governor to Lord Arlington in December 1665, "which bee pleased to show unto His Majesty." It is similar to the plan given in Ovington's *voyage to Suratt*.

The English Factories in India: Vol. XIII, 1668-1669: by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. (Clarendon Press, Oxford: Eighteen Shillings net).

With this, the thirteenth volume, Sir William Foster completes a task which has, as he tells us in his preface, occupied much of his time for over twenty years: and the series which began with the year 1618 will, it is hoped, be continued in separate form for each of the three Presidencies of

Madras, Bombay, and Bengal. Nearly a third of the 315 pages of the present volume are devoted to the affairs of Bombay which was handed over by Charles the Second to the Company on September 23, 1668. Surat continued, however, to be the headquarters on the western coast until 1687, although Gerald Aungier was in January 1670 appointed to the joint office of President of Surat and Governor of Bombay. Thereafter until May 1800 Surat affairs were in charge of an officer styled at first "chief for the affairs of the British nation and Governor of the Mogul Castle and Fleet of Surat," and later on Lieutenant Governor: the last of these being Daniel Seton whose monument is in the Cathedral at Bombay. Under Sir George Oxenden, who died at Surat in July 1669 and whose mausoleum still reminds us of the past prosperity of that port, and Aungier, who succeeded him and who likewise died at Surat in 1677, the development of the island of Bombay was steadily taken in hand. Orders were even given that "free burghars" should be encouraged to settle there, with a view to making Bombay "an English collony:" substantial fortifications were erected and schemes introduced for the improvement of the revenues and the encouragement of trade.

On the eastern side of India, the main episode was the recovery of Madras from Sir Edward Winter and the release and restoration to office of George Foxcroft. Both returned eventually to England. Winter died at York House Battersea on March 2, 1686, and the monument in the Parish Church is reproduced, as to the bust, by way of frontispiece to the present volume. Foxcroft appears to have died on January 25, 1692, at the age of ninety one, but his monument in the old Parish Church of Marylebone has disappeared. The chronicles of the company's servants in Bengal during these two years are mainly concerned with domestic quarrels. The factors had been allowed to bring their wives with them, and peace was not thereby promoted: indeed, the "Committes" or Directors were obliged in November 1668 to threaten to recall any women who proved to be the "instruments of contention." The headquarters were virtually at Balasore during the period, and the other factories were at Hooghly, Cossimbazar, and Patna (where Job Charnock was still chief). A regular factory at Dacca was authorized on January 24, 1688. "Wee observe what you have written concerning Decca that it is a place that will vend much Europe goods" and "wee give you liberty to send two or three fitt persons thither to reside." "The praious history of the English at Dacca had been largely concerned with the adventures of one Thomas Pratt, whom Tavernier found in 1664 as "chief of the English" and who is also mentioned by Manucci, but who was in reality in the Nawab's service. We learn from a letter addressed to Surat from Balasore on October 20, 1668, that "this person formerly managed what buisynesse of the Companies [there was] at Patta [sc. Dacca] in Mosum Ckaun's time," meaning thereby Muazzam Khan or Mir Jumla, and that "Shausteh Ckaun" had made him a munsudbar of 300 munsudbar and furnished him with about 10,000 rupees intending "his goeing upp to the King" at Delhi. But "through some report that the Nabob had written

against him, as that hee kept a corrispondence with the Mogue " [Mugh] Rajah of Arakan, he made his escape on a boat with two or three Englishmen and some Portuguese. " Since tis reported that hee etc. that accompanied him are murdered by the Rajah, on some jealousies of their fidelity."

These details serve to complete the account of Pratt which was given by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali in his recent article in these columns on " The English Factory at Dacca " (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 31-33) : and are mentioned in this place because of their bearing upon the despatch in 1669 of John March to Dacca to secure the removal of the obstacles put in the way of English trade by Shaista Khan who was irritated by the flight of Pratt. " The business goes on soe slowly in this cursed durbar," wrote March on July 12, that he was not able to return to Cossimbazar with the Nawab's parwana until the beginning of November.

Two other Bengal matters may be noticed. The first is Sir William Foster's identification of Captain John Goldsborough who commanded the *Antelope* when she was at Balasore in 1669, with Sir John Goldsborough who came to Calcutta in August 1693 with the high sounding title of " Supervisor Commissary Generall and Chief Governor of all the Indian Factories," and laid out the lines of old Fort William. The second is the establishment of the famous Bengal Pilot Service by order of the Company dated November 20, 1668. " Divers persons " were to be " instructed as pylotts: the which the better to accomplish let those that doe comaund the vessells up and downe the river put all persons from the youngest to the eldest, upon taking depths, sholdings, setting of tydes currents distances buoyes and making of drafts of the river, or what else needful." And " for a suply of young men to bee bredd up " five apprentices were entertained for seven years, " the first three years at 6 *l*, the next two years at 7 *l*, and the last two years at 8 *l* per annum the whole to be paid them by you for their provision of cloathes." The first of the names is that of " George Hieoron " [Heron] who was the author of one of the earliest charts of the river and who died at Madras on May 2, 1727, at the age of eighty-one, after a residence in India of sixty-one years: His daughter Mary who married Captain John Powny " commanding a ship out of Madras " presented her husband with seventeen children and died at Madras on May 7, 1780, according to James Augustus Hicky of the *Bengal Gazette*, at the age of " upwards of one hundred years."

EVAN COTTON.

The Editor's Note Book

THE Trustees of the Victoria Memorial are to be congratulated upon their purchase of the oil-painting by Zoffany representing "A Tiger Hunt near Chandernagore in 1788," of which an account was given in the issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* for January-March of this year (Vol. XXXIII, p. 82). There are now four examples of the work of Zoffany in the collection, and each of them is an admirable specimen of his art. Among other additions made during the year we may note a beautiful view of Calcutta by William Daniell and a fine portrait of Samuel Feake, a Calcutta worthy of the days of Queen Anne, which is attributed to Joseph Highmore (1692-1780) who painted portraits of General Wolfe and the Duke of Cumberland. Attention may also be drawn to the oil-painting by Colonel Meadows Taylor (author of the *confessions of a thug*) of the Rajah of Shorapur and his Ranis, presented by his daughter, Mrs. MacKenzie, facsimiles of Warren Hastings' application for a writership and Nelson's letter to the Directors, presented by Sir William Foster, a photogravure of the lately discovered portrait of William Hickey presented, together with a facsimile of a passage from his Memoirs by Mr. Alfred Spencer, and Lord Macaulay's original draft of the Penal Code (in two Volumes), presented by the heirs of the Late Rai Dhiraj Karan Bahadur of Monghyr.

SAMUEL FEAKE arrived in Bengal on May 26, 1700, and succeeded Robert Hedges, who died on December 28, 1717 (and is buried by his wish in a nameless grave), as President and Governor of Fort William on January 12, 1718, being then Chief of Cossimbazar. He made over charge of his office to John Deane on January 17, 1723, and returning to Europe obtained in 1733 a seat in the Court of Directors which he retained until 1751. On three occasions—in 1739, 1743, and 1746—he was elected Deputy Chairman, and was twice Chairman—in 1740 and again in 1744. His son Thomas Feake died at Dacca on October 7, 1750, and his tomb is in the Dacca cemetery. He became Chief of Jugdea, in the Noakhali district, in February 1742 and succeeded Thomas Joshua as Chief of Dacca in April 1745. Tablets bearing the names of John and Mary Feake, and dated 1748, have been inserted in the pavement of the old Portuguese Church near Dacca: these were probably his children. A monument to Samuel Feake and his wife Anne (who died on board the *Devonshire* Indiaman on May 10, 1723 on her passage home) may be seen in the Parish Church of Henham in Essex.

DANIELL'S picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1834 under the puzzling title of "Calcutta from Garden House Reach." It was engraved for the *Oriental Annual* of the same year and may be found, with slight variations, in the *Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China*, which was published at a much earlier date (1810). The view is obviously taken from some point near Sibpur: and the suburb which we call Garden Reach is on the same side of the river as Calcutta: but we know from Maria Graham that the name was also applied at one time to the Howrah side, in the vicinity of the Botanical Gardens, where there were several garden houses, one of these belonged to Sir John Royds, judge of the Supreme Court from 1797 to 1817. Maria Graham thus describes it in her journal on November 20, 1810: "the botanical garden is beautifully situated on the banks of the Hooghly and gives the name of Garden Reach to a bend of the river. Above the garden is an extensive plantation of teak. . . and at the end of the plantation are the house and gardens of Sir John Royds, laid out with admirable taste and containing many specimens of curious plants." Daniell in any case must have painted the view from a sketch by another hand, for Wellesley's Government House which dominates the landscape, had not been thought of when he and his uncle left Calcutta.

TWO watercolour sketches of Calcutta and Madras in 1796 have also been acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall, which possess a special interest of their own. They are painted by Benjamin A Midshipman's Sketches. Donne who was at the time a midshipman on the *Fort William* Indiaman (798 tons, Captain George Simson). She left Portsmouth for the (Coromandel) Coast and Bay (of Bengal) on July 11, 1796, and anchored at Kedgerree on February 22, 1796 and remained there until April 27. The sketch of Chandpal Ghat was made between those dates. From August 27 to September 12, 1796, the ship lay in Madras Roads (when the sketch of Fort Saint George was made) and reached her moorings in the Thames on December 19, 1797. This was Donne's first voyage in the Company's service: and he was then nineteen years of age. His second voyage was made to China as fifth officer of the *Fort William* (April 22, 1798 to August 2, 1799). He then sailed in her to Bombay as third officer (March 31, 1801, to June 12, 1802), Captain Joseph Boulderson in command. This was the sixth and last voyage of the *Fort William*. There is no further record of Donne until April 15, 1808 when he appears for the last time in Hardy's *Register of East India Shipping* as second officer of the *Lord Keith* (Captain Peter Campbell) which sailed from Portsmouth for St. Helena and Bengal on that day and returned to her home moorings on January 21, 1810. The *Fort William* Indiaman was built at Calcutta in Colonel Watson's dockyard at Kidderpore. William Hickey in his *Memoirs* (Vol. IV. p. 30) writes: "In the month of July

[1794] I had with me [at Chinsurah] Captain Simson, chief mate of the *Seahorse* when I went out on her in the year 1777. . . Captain Simson then commanded a very fine Indiaman called the *Fort William*, which ship had been built for him by Colonel Watson, Major Mestayer, and other men who had known him as an officer and were desirous of promoting his interests." Simson commanded her from January 16, 1786, to August 2, 1799: and took her for five voyages.

MRS. GEORGE LYELL, the widow of a former head of the great Calcutta firm of Macneill and Company, has intimated her intention of bequeathing to the Victoria Memorial Hall her husband's valuable collection of paintings, engravings, and books relating to India: and the trustees have accepted the offer. Included in the bequest are the following ten oil-paintings by Thomas and William Daniell, of whose art Mr. Lyell was a great admirer:

A noble gift.

- (1) The Falls of Courtallum in the Tinnevely district, by Thomas Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1798, and reproduced as No. 3 in the fourth series of *Oriental Scenery*:
- (2) The Falls of Puppenassum in the same district: by Thomas Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800:
- (3) The European Factories at Canton: by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1806, and reproduced in *A Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China*:
- (4) A view of Najibabad in Rohilkhand: by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1828, and engraved by J. H. Kernot for the *Oriental Annual* of 1835:
- (5) "Hindoo Females on the Banks of the Ganges:" by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1827, and engraved by W. D. Taylor for the *Oriental Annual* of 1834:
- (6) The Taj Mahal at Agra, viewed from the opposite side of the river Jumna, by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1829 and engraved by J. Lee for the *Oriental Annual* of 1834:
- (7) A smaller picture of the same: without figures in the foreground.
- (8) The Banyan Tree: by William Daniell, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1833 and engraved by G. Hollis for the *Oriental Annual* of 1834:
- (9) The Jumma Musjid at Delhi: by William Daniell.
- (10) A portrait group of three officers, with the Rock of Trichinopoly in the background: by Thomas Daniell.

There are two other oil-paintings: a copy of Home's portrait of the two Daniells which hangs in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a view by Solvyns (1793) of the residence at Barrypore, near Calcutta, of Richard Goodlad, (writer 1771) salt agent for the twenty four pergunnahs,

AMONG the papers of Mr. Lyell are interesting references to Mrs. Rose Wood, the daughter of William Daniell, who died at Chertsey on December 31, 1913, in her 103rd year. She was born in Fitzroy-Square on March 23, 1811, and baptized in the Old Parish Church of St. Pancras. One of her uncles, Richard Westall, R. A. was the first drawing master of the Princess Victoria: and she occasionally saw the future Queen Empress when she accompanied her uncle to Kensington Palace in the royal carriage, she was twice married and by an odd coincidence both her husbands who were distant cousins were named George Wood. Her second marriage took place at Chertsey in 1864, and she was left a widow in 1877. After her first marriage in 1834, she went to America with her husband and remained there for seventeen years when she returned to Chertsey. In her youth she was an accomplished painter. Her father William Daniell died in 1837 in his sixty-ninth year, and her great uncle Thomas Daniell in 1840 at the age of ninety-one.

DO Modern Mariners speak of the "Elephant" gales at the close of the monsoon? The latest use of the phrase which we have been able to find is in Dr. Henry Moses' *Sketches of India*, a book published in London in 1850 and dealing with life in Bombay. The following passage is taken from page 103:

The "elephant" gales.

"The monsoon is not over until the end of September, and no sensible merchant will allow his vessel to go to sea until after the elephanta gales have passed away." Dr. Moses' book appears to have been overlooked by the compilers of *Hobson Jobson* and also by their editor Mr. Crooke: who have contented themselves with earlier references. Sir Thomas Roe writes on August 20, 1616, while at Ajmere: "This day and the night past fell a storm of rayne called the Oliphant, usuall at going out of the raynes." Wouter Schouten in his *Oost Indische Voyagic* (1659) says: "The boldest among us became dismayed and the more when the whole culminated in such a terrific storm that we were compelled to believe it must be that yearly raging tempest which is called the elephant. This storm annually in September and October makes itself heard in a frightful manner in the Sea of Bengal." Ivas, the surgeon of H. M. S. *Kent*, notes in his journal under date of October 10, 1756: "We had what they call here an elephanta, which is an excessive hard gale with very severe thunder lightning and rain but it was of short duration." Tryer in 1673 speaks of being caught by "the tail of the elephant full in our mouth," when "winding about the South-West part of Cailon": and Ovington who made "a voyage to Suratt in the year 1689" writes at p. 137: "The monsoons are rude and boisterous in their departure as well as their coming in, which two seasons are called the elephant in India and just before their breaking up take their farewell for the most part in rugged puffing weather." Mr. Crooke derives the word from the *hathiya*, the thirteenth lunar asterism connected with

the sign of the elephant, and points out that the hathiya is at the end of the rains. This is borne out by most of the quotations: but there are notable exceptions. For example, in the first Volume of Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies* (1772) we may read at page 33: "The setting in of the rains is commonly ushered in by a violent thunderstorm called the elephanta, a name which it probably receives in the Asiatic style from the comparison of its force to that of the elephant."

MENTION is made in the second volume of the *East India Military calendar* (1824) of a Major Pemble as "commanding the second line" of the

British forces under Major Hector Munro at the battle of
A hero of Buxar. Buxar on October 23, 1764: and we likewise find Munro

himself in his despatch to the President at Fort William (Bengal Secret Consultations, November 6, 1764) stating that he "sent orders to Major Pemble who commanded the second line." There is a further allusion to Pemble in Munro's letter of October 26, 1764 to the Earl of Sandwich which was published in the *London Gazette* of June 15—18, 1765, and also in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. 35, p. 256): "I wish Major Pemble might be recommended to the Chairman of the Court of Directors for his bravery and good conduct." Clive in his despatch of May 17, 1766, also speaks highly of his merits. But the subsequent career of this officer has hitherto remained untraced in any account of the battle. The details obtainable from Dodwell and Miles are extremely meagre: it is merely stated that he was promoted in February 1767 [sic] to be Lieutenant-Colonel and "removed to Bombay" from which establishment the *Military Calendar* (Vol. II, p. 243) informs us that he was transferred with Major John Scott, who attained notoriety in later years as Scott Waring, members of Parliament and agent for Warren Hastings.

THE mystery has now been cleared up by the reprint in the "Broadway Travellers Series" of the *Travels of John Macdonald*, a scarce book published in London in 1790 of which the only known
' Major-General Pimble.' copy is in the British Museum. When Macdonald arrived in Bombay in 1769 as servant to Colonel Alexander Dow,

the historian of Hindustan, who had been appointed to command the sepoys at that presidency, "Major-General Pimble" was, he tells us, commander-in-Chief, and he records his death in the following year at Bankot (Fort Victoria), "one of our settlements, a fine airy situation as any in India." He was suffering from dropsy: and Macdonald asserts that his illness followed his insistence upon an order that the "Gentoo Officers" should wear boots of leather "entirely against their caste and religion." His successor as commander in chief was General David Wedderburn who arrived in Bombay in August 1770 after his death, with orders for his transfer to Madras. Wedderburn was killed at the capture of Broach in 1772, and his tomb may still be seen in a corner of the old fort.

IS it possible to identify the "Major-General Pimble" of Macdonald's Travels with the "Major Pemble" of Munro's despatch? The answer

A satisfactory can be returned in the affirmative, as the result of the researches which have been most courteously made by identification. Mr. Ottewill, the Superintendent of Records at the India

Office. From the Court Minutes of February 7, 1753, it appears that Charles Pemble was appointed a Lieutenant on the Bombay establishment: and the following additional details have been obtained from the official "list of officers of the Bombay Artillery." He was promoted to be Captain Lieutenant on March 1, 1758, Captain in October of the same year, brevet Major on January 1, 1765, Major on March 25, 1766, Lieutenant-Colonel on February 12, 1768, and Colonel in January 1769. In 1761 he was director of the Laboratory at Bombay and submitted to the Governor and Council on September 1 a report on the transit of Venus, which was sent to the Court of Directors. From 1762 to 1765 he was commandant of the Bombay Artillery, and embarked on October 12, 1763 for Bengal. The date of his arrival is fixed by the evidence given by Munro before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1771. "I arrived in May 1764 with a detachment from the Company's forces from Bombay." He received his brevet majority for his gallantry at the battle of Buxar, where his horse was shot under him, and commanded a force sent against Chunar in December 1764. In a dispatch to Bengal of December 24, 1765, the Directors say, "you did very well to give Captain Pemble a Major's Commission on the Bengal establishment." On March 26, 1766, orders are sent that Pemble is to return to Bombay by the first opportunity either with or without the rest of the Officers of the Bombay detachment under his command and that on arrival there he is to be granted a Major's commission on that establishment of even date with the brevet given to him in Bengal on January 1, 1765. In a later despatch of March 16, 1768, the Directors repeat that "Lieutenant Colonel Pemble who belongs to the Bombay establishment is to proceed thither accordingly" and announce that they have appointed him "Colonel and Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's forces at that Presidency." He had already taken over charge on February 12, 1768 and died on May 11, 1770, at Bankot, as related by Macdonald.

THE following note, which appeared in the *Athenaeum* on May 27, 1905, is worth reprinting in its entirety, for it calls attention to the earliest game of cricket which was probably played in India.

The first mention of cricket in India. The writer is the late Mr. J. S. Cotton, editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and younger brother of

Sir Henry Cotton:—

In a curious book, which in itself merits a brief description, I have found what I make bold to call the first mention of cricket played in India. The title of the book is "A Compendious History of

the Indian Wars " by Clement Downing (London 1737). It does not seem to have been used by Sir Henry Yule when compiling his Anglo-Indian Glossary, though it abounds with "Hobson Jobsons" that would have been dear to his heart. Raja is always printed as "Rodger," Nawab as "Annabob," and Subahdar as "Subberdaw." The author was a sailor who took part in the sea fights against the Marathor "pyrate" Angria: and consequently it is not unnatural that he should call all Marathas "Angrians."

However, to come to the point. When his boat was lying for a fortnight [in 1721] in some channel of the Gulf of Cambay, Clement Downing writes (p. 229):—

"Though all the Country round was inhabited by the *Culeys*, we every day diverted ourselves with playing at Cricket and other Exercises, which they would come and be spectators of. But we never ventured to recreate ourselves in this Method without having Arms for ourselves and guarded by some of our soldiers, lest the country should come down on us."

I may add that the "New English Dictionary" quotes a reference for a similar game of "sailors' cricket" played at Aleppo as early as *circa* 1676.

Downing's book was sold, when published, for two shillings and six pence a copy: but it has become scarce, and must now be read in Sir William Foster's reprint (Clarendon Press, 1925).

FOR a notice of cricket in Calcutta, we must wait until January 18 and 19, 1804, when mention is made of a grand match between the Etonian Civilians and all other servants of the Company resident in Calcutta. The Etonians, it is related, scored 232 runs, while their opponents, who had two innings to their one, were not able to put together more than 80.

GOLF in Calcutta is a most flourishing institution nowadays, but we have not been able to find any record of a Golf Club before 1839, when the Captain was Lord Ramsay, the elder brother of Lord Dalhousie, the great Governor-General, and at the time aide-de-camp to his father, the ninth Earl, who was then Commander-in-Chief in India.

DOWNING'S use of the word "Culey" is interesting, as it indicates the origin of an expression which has in the course of years come to bear a very different meaning. The history of the change is given by Bishop Heber in his Journal (1825):—"The head man of the village said he was a *Kholee* [Koli], the name of a degenerate race of Rajpoots in Guzerat, who from the low occupations in which they are generally employed, have (under the corrupt name of Coolie) given a name, probably through the medium of the Portuguese,

Cricket in Calcutta.

Golf.

The word "coolie."

to bearers of burdens all over India." Except for the fact that the Kolis are a hill people who still exist in large numbers in Guzerat and the Konkan, the explanation is not an improbable one: but it is necessary to point out that in South India there is a Tamil word *Kuli* in use which signifies "hire" or "wages," and that according to Dr. H. H. Wilson, it is from this word that the modern meaning of coolie has developed.

OUR old friend, Mr. A. F. C. de Cosson, has been much exercised by the discovery, which he communicated to the *Times* of June 16, that Thomas Waghorn, the originator of the overland route to India across Egypt, is described as a German in the English service in the 1914 edition of Baedeker's guide-book to Egypt. The assertion is the more extraordinary because in the edition of 1902, the statement is twice made that Waghorn was an Englishman. No explanation has been offered for the transition from fact to fiction. Of Waghorn's English nationality there can be no doubt. Sir Charles Oman M. P. has pointed out that the connexion with India began with James Waghorn, who is buried in the churchyard of Ewell in Surrey, and was employed at the India House in Leadenhall Street. Thomas Waghorn (1800-1850) was his cousin, and the son of a Rochester tradesman: while Sir Danvers Waghorn, who was until recently a member of the Indian Railway Board, is the grandson of James. A statue of Thomas Waghorn was unveiled at Chatham in 1888: and there is a bust at Suez which was erected by Ferdinand de Lesseps. A portrait of him may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall.

MR. BALDWIN unveiled on June 28 a series of eight mural paintings measuring fifteen by nine feet, which have been placed in St. Stephen's Hall, Westminster, to illustrate notable episodes in the history of the British Empire. Among them is a panel presented by the Duke of Bedford and executed by Professor W. Dothenstein which bears the following title: "Sir Thomas Roe, envoy from King James the First of England to the Mogul Emperor succeeds by his courtesy and firmness at the Court of Ajmir, in laying the foundation of British influence in India, 1616." Sir Henry Newbolt has written the story of "The Building of Britain" round the paintings which are to be reproduced in colour. Mr. Rothenstein, whose interest in Indian art is well-known, has by general consent been most successful in the treatment of his subject. He has based his style upon the Indian miniatures of the Mogul type: and his work is characterized by admirable draftsmanship and harmonious colouring. The central figure in the composition is the Emperor Jehanghir, who is seated on a musnud surmounted by a canopy. Two attendants with chowries stand behind him and a group of courtiers is on either side. Sir Thomas Roe in the English dress of the period, faces the Emperor, with his back to the spectator, and is seen presenting his master's letter in a

Sir Thomas Roe
at the court of
Jehanghir.

parchment roll. Two of his Indian attendants are making a profound obeisance in the left foreground. The marble building of the Fort at Ajmir forms an appropriate background.

THE death at Oxford on July 1 last of Mrs. George Carnac Barnes, in her ninety-ninth year, breaks one of the last of the links which bind the present generation with the events of 1857. In the summer of that fateful year, she was at Kasauli and her husband was commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States, with head-quarters at Umballa. When General Anson the Commander-in-Chief arrived at Umballa from Simla upon receiving the news of the outbreak of the rebellion, he filled Barnes with dismay by announcing that he intended to entrench himself and "wait, and see." John Lawrence to whom his subordinate telegraphed, replied at once "clubs are trumps, not spades: when in doubt take the trick:" and Anson happily took the hint and decided to move forward to Delhi. Barnes died at Hazaribagh on May 13, 1861, shortly after he had been appointed by Lord Canning to be Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. His nephew Sir Hugh Shakespear Barnes, was Foreign Secretary in his turn and Lieutenant-Governor of Burma from 1903 to 1905: and his eldest son, Sir George Stapylton Barnes, who was born at Umballa on February, 8, 1858, was commerce Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council from 1916 to 1921.

THERE was offered for sale at Christie's on July 12 last "a gold seal with an emerald engraved in Persian Characters with the name of John Benn and the date 1783." It was the property of the third and present Lord Ormath Waite, John Benn, his ancestor, has long been forgotten: and yet there is an interesting connexion between him and the family of Lord Clive's wife. He arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1777, and from 1782 to 1785 was assistant to the Resident at Benares when no doubt the seal was engraved. In 1787 he was "out of the service," and the next stage in his career is marked by a baronetcy which was conferred upon him in 1804. But before that he had in 1795 assumed the surname of Walsh on succeeding to the estates of John Walsh, his wife's uncle. He had married in 1750 Margaret Fowke the daughter of Dr. Johnson's friend Joseph Fowke and Elizabeth Walsh, John Walsh's sister: and his son was created Lord Ormath Waite in 1868. Joseph Walsh the father of John and Elizabeth, was the uncle by marriage of Lady Clive, for his wife was her aunt Elizabeth Maskelyne. He was dismissed in 1725 from the office of Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough (Sumatra) and died in 1731 at Madras, where his tomb may still be seen in the compound of St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George. John Walsh who was born at Fort Marlborough in 1726 went out to Fort Saint George as a writer in 1743.

In 1756 he accompanied Clive to Bengal as his private secretary and was sent to England by him in 1757 to lay before Pitt his plan for the reorganization of the administration of Bengal. He did not return but employed the fifty thousand odd pounds which he received from Mir Jaffir after Plassey in the purchase of Warfield Park in Berkshire in 1771, and sat also in Parliament as member for a Worcester. He quarrelled with Warren Hastings over the dismissal of his nephew Francis Fowke from his post at Benares: but achieved a more enduring reputation as a scientist. Of Joseph Fowke and his son Francis something was said in a very recent issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, pp. 112-113). The parents of Joseph, Randall and Anne Fowke, are buried at Madras in the same compound as Joseph Walsh: the father died on October 2, 1745, at the age of seventy-two, "forty of which he spent in the East India Company's Service," and the mother on August 3, 1734.

Three miniature portraits, which were also the property of Lord Ormath Waite, were included in the same sale. The first in a gold clasp, is by S. Cotes (1773) and represents Lord Metcalfe's father Sir Thomas Metcalfe, of whom William Hickey gives such an unflattering account: the second in a gold brooch is of Henry Metcalfe, another of his sons: and the third is a portrait of Sir John Walsh (or Benn) by George Enge-heart, in a gold locket. Lord Metcalfe, it is well known, died in 1846 without issue and was succeeded in the baronetcy by his brother Thomas Theophilus (writer 1813) who was appointed Agent to the Governor-General at Delhi in 1835 and died at that place in 1853. But he left £50,000 to his natural son Colonel James Metcalfe C.B. of the Bengal Army, who was aide-de-camp to Lord Dalhousie and subsequently interpreter to Sir Colin Campbell during the Mutiny: and died as recently as 1888 at the age of seventy-one.

CERTAIN enquiries have been addressed to us regarding the family of General William Palmer (1740-1816) and his son John Palmer: (1767-1836) the "Prince of Merchants," whose bust by The Palmer family. Chantrey Stands in the lower lobby of the Calcutta Town Hall: and a number of interesting facts, which are not generally known, have been ascertained in the course of our researches. The statement is incorrect that General Palmer married an Oudh princess. Colonel Meadows Taylor, among others says definitely in his *Story of My Life* that she was a Lady of the Delhi family, and he was in a position to know, for he married the daughter of her eldest son William Palmer (1781-1867), the "King" Palmer of Hyderabad fame. Her name has hitherto escaped us, but it is revealed by Major Hodson in his newly published "list of officers of the Bengal Army;" on the authority of the General's will which was proved at Calcutta in 1816 and in which he says that she has

lived with him for more than thirty years. Captain James Arrow (1786-1819) married at Berhampore on January 25, 1816. "Mary daughter of William Palmer and Bibi Faiz Bakhsh, a begum of Delhi." He acted as aide-de-camp to his father-in-law at Berhampore from 1806 to 1812, and was cantonment Adjutant and Barrack master there from 1812 to 1819. His death occurred at sea on December 27, 1819, between Madras and the Cape. Besides "King" Palmer and Hastings Palmer (1785-1860) who are both buried at Hyderabad, General Palmer and his begum had two other sons: Charles, born on January 7, 1791, and Robert, born in August of the same year. Both were baptized in Calcutta in July 1792 as "the sons of William Palmer, Major." The name of the mother is omitted in the entry and also in the entries of the baptisms of William (March 20, 1782) and Hastings (December 27, 1785): and the two latter are described as "natural children," no doubt because the marriage with the begum was a Mahomedan one. These unions were not uncommon. Colonel Thomas Alexander Cobbe (1788-1836) who was Agent to the Governor-General at Moorshedabad from 1831 to 1836, married, according to Major Hodson, "Nuzzer Begum, daughter of Aziz Khan, of Kashmir."

ACCORDING to the inscription on the pedestal of his bust, John Palmer was the second son of the General. The eldest would seem to have been Samuel Palmer who was appointed to be an ensign in the Bengal Infantry in 1779, became a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1813, and died on March 8, 1814. Both he and John must have been the children of an earlier wife. We have not been able to trace the date of his birth, but he is mentioned as a son of General William Palmer in the *East India Military Calendar* (Vol. II, p. 451). George Palmer who died at Purnea on September 10, 1840 and is commemorated by a tablet in St. John's Church, may we think, be identified with the George Palmer who was baptized in Calcutta on December 20, 1795, "son of Samuel Palmer, Lieutenant, detached with Major Palmer." John Palmer married in 1791 Mary Sarah Hampton, whom we take to be the daughter of Colonel Samuel Hampton, who was a large house-owner in Calcutta and died at Berhampore on April 7, 1786. Her sister had married R. C. Bazett of the firm of Colvins and Bazett on July 30, 1790.

IT is well known that three of John Palmer's daughters made notable marriages. One married William Taylor (Bengal Civil Service 1829 to 1859) the famous "Patna" Tayler of Mutiny days. Two of their sons were in the Bengal Civil Service: Skipwith Henry Churchill Tayler from 1853 to 1887, and William Vansittart Graham Tayler, from 1856 to 1871: and of their four sons-in-law two were also civilians: Edward Dowdeswell Lockwood (B.C.S. 1850 to 1878) who was the grandson of Samuel Davis (the defender of

Nandesur House at Benares in 1799) and Archdale Villers Palmer (B.C.S. 1853 to 1880) whose family had no connexion with the Calcutta Palmers. A second daughter married Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse (B.C.S. 1844 to 1871) who died in 1916 at the age of ninety, and their son is the present baronet. The third, Anne Catherine Bazett Palmer (1801-1885) married in April 4, 1825, Robert Castle Jenkins, and their son Richard Palmer Jenkins (1826-1899) was another well-known Bengal civilian. There was also a fourth daughter Claudino, born, we believe, in 1794. Major Hodson records that Capt. Llewellyn Conroy, the commandant of the Calcutta native militia, married at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on January 10, 1822, "Claudine Anne, daughter of John Palmer of Calcutta, banker, widow of [blank] Kerr." Conroy died of Cholera at Alipore on September 4, 1825, at the age of thirty-seven. John Palmer had likewise two sons: Francis Charles, baptized in Calcutta in 1792, and Henry John, born in Calcutta on January 21, 1797. The latter was in the Bengal Civil Service (writer 1815) and was officiating in August 1841 as salt agent of the Twenty-Four Pergunnahs and Jessore. The former was in the Bengal Army, and appears to be the Francis Palmer mentioned by Dodwell and Miles, who was appointed to be a cornet in the cavalry in 1809, was promoted to Captain in 1823, and was pensioned in India on December 28, 1827.

SEVERAL of the last remaining survivors of the defence and relief of the Lucknow Presidency have died during the year. Major-General George Stewart, C.B. (February 12) was one of Sir Henry Havelock's relieving force: and in the same issue of the *Times* the last of the Lucknow Veterans. the deaths were announced of two other Lucknow veterans, George Smith aged 89 and Joseph Turner, aged 90, on March 16 the death was reported at Nelson in British Columbia of Mrs. Charlotte Henderson Cleland, who was the daughter of Captain Fletcher Hayes, the Military Secretary of Sir Henry Lawrence, and went through the siege as a child of six. Mr. Alexander Courtenay Bryson (March 29), formerly of the Opium Department, was the nephew of "Lucknow" Kavanagh, and as a child of six formed one of the party which marched out to the Alum Bagh on the night of November 23, 1857, when the final relief was effected by Sir Colin Campbell. He lost his father during the siege Lieutenant-General Octavius Ludlow Smith (May 8) who married the only daughter of Sir Vincent Eyre of Arrah Fame, was a Lieutenant in the Company's Army of ten years' service at Lucknow when the siege began. He was in his ninety-ninth year. Lieutenant-Colonel Gerald Andrew Agnew (May 16), who was in his ninety-second year, took part in Havelock's relief, and all the subsequent operations including Outram's defence of the Alum Bagh. With the disappearance of these veterans, the list of combatant officers of the besieged Garrison is believed to be reduced to a single name, that of Colonel John Bonham C.B. of the old Bengal Artillery, who has reached his ninety-fourth year in spite of

the four wounds he received. But we have also still with us a hale and hearty "Lucknow baby" in the person of Mr. Robert Hildebrand Anderson, who is remembered at Chittagong, where he was Judge at the time of his retirement in 1902 from the Indian Civil Service, and who was born during the siege. His father, Captain R. P. Anderson of the 25th Bengal Infantry, was the hero of "Anderson's Post," "the most exposed post in the whole garrison," says Lady Inglis, "and the only one called by the name of its commander throughout the siege." A tablet in St. John's Church bears the names of Mr. Anderson's mother and his infant sister, aged seven months, "who died from sheer want of proper nutriment during the siege of Lucknow."

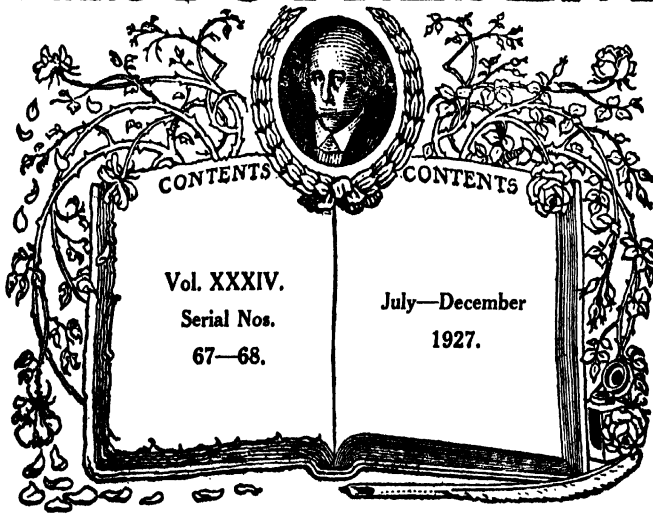
ACCORDING to a London newspaper (the *Daily Express*) there was alive on December 21, 1926, a Mrs. W. Moss of Great Yarmouth who is the daughter of a soldier and was taken to India by her parents shortly after her birth in 1850. During the siege of the Presidency she was placed with other children in the care of "Scotch Jessie" who maintained that she could hear the Highland pipes several hours before the garrison were actually relieved by Havelock's force: and she is the little girl who is seen in the well known picture of the Relief, being tossed in the air by a Brawny Scottish soldier. She is able to recall how Kavanagh, disguised as a Pathan Swashbuckler, left the Presidency at dusk to make his way to the headquarters of Sir Colin Campbell.

THE story of "Scotch Jessie" was celebrated in verse by Miss Grace Campbell under the title of "Jessie's Dream," and has been authenticated in his *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny* by the late "Scotch Jessie." Mr. William Forbes Mitchell, who served as a sergeant with the 93rd Highlanders at the second relief of the Presidency and who for many years was well-known in Calcutta as the proprietor of the Bon Accord Rope Works at Garden Reach. The pipes were those of the 78th Highlanders who formed part of Havelock's relieving force: and the Lady was Jessie Brown. Forbes Mitchell heard the story on the Dilkusha heights before Lucknow in November, 1857: and quotes in addition the positive statement made in London in 1901 by a Mrs. Gaffney, that she was in the *tykhana*, or underground room, of the Residency with Jessie Brown at the time. "I knew Mrs. Gaffney well," he says, "I think her first husband was a sergeant of the Company's artillery who was either killed in the defence of the Residency or soon after. I often heard her relate the story and I was best man to Sergeant Gaffney of the Commissariat when she married him in the end of 1860 or the beginning of 1861."

EVAN COTTON.



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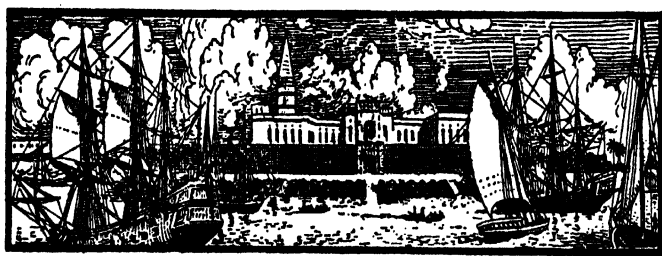
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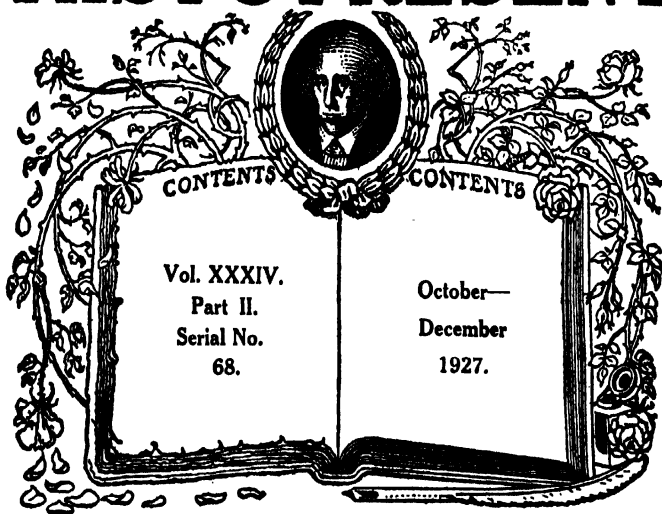
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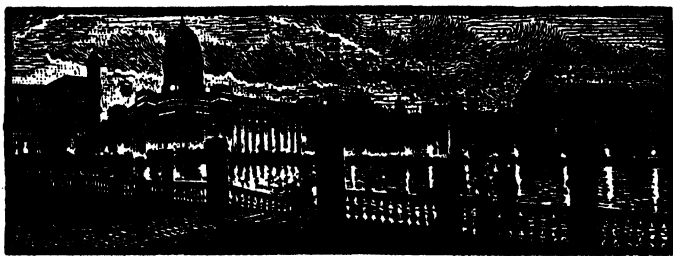


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The Memoirs of Colonel Gentil.

IN 1822 the memoirs of Colonel Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Gentil were published at Paris under the following title:

Mémoires sur l'Indoustan ou l'Empire Mogol par M. Gentil Ancien Colonel d'Infanterie, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint Louis. Résident Français auprès du Premier Vézir de l'Empire, Nabab et Souverain d'Aoude, d'Eléabad, etc. Choudja-a-ed-Doulah, Général des Troupes Mogoles au Service de ce Prince, etc. Ornés de Trois Gravures et d'Une Carte.

Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt (Virg. Eclog. V.)

A Paris, chez Petit. Libraire de S. A. R. Monsieur et de S. A. S. le Duc de Bourdon, Palais. Royal, Galeries de Bois, no. 257. 1822.

The book is not easily accessible, and is seldom quoted in the histories of India during the eighteenth century. Its value as a record of current events is not always unimpeachable: but its interest is undeniable. Four episodes have been selected, which may serve as an index to the remainder. A summary of the general narrative has been given in the form of a paper prepared for the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Gentil sailed from Lorient on February 13, 1752, and reached Pondichery on July 13. He had taken service with a French Colonial Corps and was sent to the army of Golconda. His commanders were Bussy, Law de Lauriston, the Marquis de Conflans, and the comte de Lally. In April 1759 he was taken prisoner at the capture of Masulipatam by Colonel Francis Forde. His release must have been speedy: for we next hear of him at the court of Kassim-Ali Khan (Mir Kasim) who was placed on the musnud of Bengal in October, 1760. He was then, he tells us, the friend and confidant of Gourgin Khan, the Armenian Minister of Mir Kasim, to whom he had been recommended by M. Magoire, the French governor of Patna, on his departure for Europe (1). He claims to have done his best to prevent the massacre in October 1763 of Ellis and his companions at Patna: and relates also how he succeeded in saving the lives of several English refugees by representing them to be Frenchmen.

When Mir Kasim fled to the north and took refuge with Choudja-a-ed-Doulah (Shuja-ud-daula), the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Gentil changed masters. He was present at the battle of Buxar on October 23, 1764 in the capacity of aide-de-camp to the Nawab Wazir: and was sent by him

(1) A translation by Mr. C. A. Oldham of Gentil's account of the assassination of Gurjin Khan, whose real name was Khwaja Gregory, will be found in Vol. XXIX of *Bengal: Past and Present* (pp. 219-222).

to the English camp to conduct the negotiations with General Carnac, which bore fruit in the treaty of Allahabad (August 16, 1765). Thereafter he accompanied Shuja-ud-daula to Fyzabad and assumed the title of "French Resident at the Court of Oudh."

There can be no doubt, upon his own admissions, that he was actively engaged in intrigues against the British. Several attempts were made to dislodge him: but so long as Shuja-ud-daula lived, none of them, he affirms, were successful. Upon the death of the Nawab at Fyzabad on January 16, 1775, Hastings made a final effort and insisted upon his dismissal by Asaf-ud-daula.

He left Fyzabad on February 27, 1775, at ten days' notice, and without payment of a whole year's allowance which was due to him: and proceeded to Chandernagore. Here he must have remained for some time for he does not appear to have arrived in France until 1778. In June of that year Louis XVI received him in private audience and appointed him a colonel of infantry: he had already in 1771 been awarded the cross of Saint-Louis. His death took place on February 15, 1799, at his birthplace, Bagnols in his sixty-third year.

If we are to believe his son, he left no fortune. The Revolution deprived him of his military pension, which was "almost his only means of support": and while in the service of the Nawab Wazir, he spent 80,000 francs a year in alleviating the distress of "unfortunate Frenchmen turned adrift in India after the loss of all our possessions." From among these men he formed a corps of six hundred in the pay of the Nawab. "His purse and his house were open to all who presented themselves: he employed considerable sums also in the purchase of objects of natural history, arms, and medals, and a hundred and thirty manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, Bengali, 'Malabars' (Malayalam) and Sanskrit, as well as numerous Indian drawings. "The greater part of these collections for which (we are told) the English offered him 300,000 francs (Rs. 1,20,000), were presented by him to the Royal Library at Paris and the "Cabinet" of Natural History.

JULIANA KHANUM.

Gentil married in 1772 at Fyzabad Thérèse Velho, a Portuguese lady, by whom he had one son, the editor of the *Mémoires*. She died at Bagnols in 1778, three months after their return to France. Both her mother, Lucia Mendece [Mendoza], who died at Versailles in 1806, and her father Sebastian Velho were descended from the sister of a remarkable woman, Juliana D'acosta, to whom Gentil gives a prominent place in a series of biographies of "Celebrated Women of Hindostan" (2). Having lost nearly the whole of their fortune in a shipwreck, she made her way with

(2) Gentil's Juliana must be distinguished from Bibi Juliana, the daughter of Khwaja or Mir Abdul Hai, an Armenian convert to Islam, who was one of Akbar's judges. She married Mirza Sikandar, another Armenian convert, who was attached to Akbar's Court at Lahore; and died before 1598.

her father to the court of Aurangzeb, and won his favour by presenting him with some European curiosities. She was appointed to supervise the education of his eldest son Muazzam (3) and was placed in charge of his harem. Her father was at the same time created a mansubdar and nominated to be physician to the prince. In 1687 (says Gentil) Muazzam, or Bahadur Shah as he calls him, fell into disgrace and was thrown into prison. His only companion was Juliana who alleviated his captivity, in spite of the strict orders of the Emperor, by procuring various luxuries for him at the risk of her life. Her father died at Golconda about this period.

Upon the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, at the age of ninety-one, the usual contest for the succession ensued between Bahadur Shah and his brothers Azam Shah and Khan Bakhsh. Juliana accompanied Bahadur Shah to Lahore and was present at the battle of Jajnan to the south of Agra on June 20, 1707, in which Bahadur Shah (who had proclaimed himself Emperor) narrowly escaped defeat at the hands of Azam Shah (4). Seated by the side of Bahadur Shah on his elephant, and assuring him that she had "with all the other Christians" offered prayers for his success, she urged him to continued resistance and attack, and indicated to him a ford by which he could cross the river Tchamboul (Chumbal). The two sons of Azam Shah were killed, but the battle went at first in his favour. Ultimately Azam Shah himself was killed and his troops took to flight (5).

Juliana received from the victor the titles of Khanum and consort of an omrah, and also presents to the value of nine lakhs of rupees as well as four villages with a rent roll of Rs. 50,000, the palace of Dara Shikoh (the unfortunate brother of Aurangzeb) and a monthly stipend of a thousand rupees. She declared herself the protector of all the Christians, built a number of Churches and was accompanied everywhere by two elephants carrying flags which bore a white cross on a red ground. Gentil assures us that she became "the oracle of the Emperor," and was given the custody of the crown. She brought three hundred Portuguese from Goa, provided situations for such as were worthy and sent back the others. The following reference to her is quoted from Valentijn, who according to Gentil, "places her portrait with that of the Emperor and of the other sovereigns whose history he relates" (6):

The Emperor Shah Alam informed the Dutch ambassador on April 25, 1712, that the Empress desired to see all the members of the embassy in the afternoon. The Empress made her appearance about four o'clock, accompanied by Donna Juliana and several of

(3) Gentil calls him Bahadur-Chah and says that he assumed the name of Chah-Mem the First on succeeding to the throne in 1707. But cf. Vincent Smith *Oxford History of India*, p. 457: "Muazzam, also called Shah Alam.....assumed the style of Bahadur Shah."

(4) Gentil says that the battle was fought "dans la plaine de Gualyar."

(5) Gentil does not mention the fate of Kam Bakhsh, who was defeated near Hyderabad in the Deccan and died of his wounds in January, 1709.

(6) The portrait, which appears to be an excellent one and represents Juliana in European dress, will be found at p. 269 of the second part of the fourth volume of Valentijn (*Dordrecht*, 1724-26).

the principal ladies of her court. She was good enough to wait until the ambassador and his suite had marched past her majesty, and had presented their respects. Rupees were offered as a nuzzur and were graciously accepted by the Empress who intimated that betel would be sent. This was received on the following day. The embassy owed this exceptional favour to Juliana a lady who deserves special mention on account of the services which she rendered to us on different occasions.

Upon the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712, Juliana expressed her intention of retiring to Goa: but the new Emperor Jahandar Shah exhorted her to remain at his court, where, says Valentijn, "she was a second Madame de Maintenon;" Jahandar Shah was, however, murdered in 1713, and Juliana's enormous possessions were confiscated by his nephew and successor Farouksiar (Farrukhsiyar); owing to the hostility of the new vizier; Saiyid Abdulla. But the Emperor fell ill, and Juliana, "with the aid of Christian doctors" could alone restore him to health (7). She was thereupon reinstated in favour and the order of confiscation was revoked.

A curious passage follows:

L'usurpation de Farouksiar avait privé les descendants de Chah-Alam de la succession au trône. Mohamed-Chah, qui pouvaity prétendre comme petit fils de Chah-Alem, en était frustré. Sa mère voulut faire un voeu pour que son fils parvint à l'empire. Cette princesse consulta Juliana qui lui conseilla de le faire à *saint Jean-Baptiste* que les mahométans honorent sous le nom de *Yhya-Perigham Bey*. Juliana fit elle-même ce voeu, par ordre de la princesse, dans l'église des chrétiens revérée par le bruit de plusieurs miracles.

[The usurpation of Farrokhsiyar had ousted the descendants of Shah Alam (Bahadur Shah) from the succession to the throne. Muhammad Shah, whose claim was based upon his being grandson of Shah Alam (8), was one of those who were thus balked. His mother desired to make a vow so that her son should obtain the empire: and consulted Juliana who advised her to offer it to St. John the Baptist whom the Muhammadans honour under the name of Yahya-Perisham-Bey. By order of the princess Juliana herself made the vow in the Christian Church which was the object of special reverence by reason of the report of several miracles.]

The story proceeds. Muhammad Shah duly succeeded to the throne in 1717: and it so happened that the day of his accession was the name-day of St. John the Baptist. A brilliant ceremony was arranged. The Emperor's household and the great nobles attended at the house of Juliana in Delhi. Carrying the crown in her hands, she proceeded in a carriage, at two hours

(7) The inscription on the tomb of William Hamilton in St. John's Churchyard at Calcutta tells a different tale "His Memory ought to be dear to this Nation, for the credit he gained ye English in curing Ferrucksear, the present king of Indostan, of a Malignant Distemper." Hamilton died on December 4, 1717.

(8) He was the son of Jahan Shah, brother of Jahandar Shah.

before daybreak, to the Imperial palace. The streets were brilliantly illuminated and a lavish display of fireworks was given. On reaching the palace she was received by the women and eunuchs of the Emperor's household and by his *naubat* (band of musicians). She was conducted into an apartment where she placed the crown on a throne and awaited the Emperor's arrival when she put it on his head.

Juliana (says Gentil) died in 1732 at the age of seventy-five and was buried in the Christian Church at Agra. She was succeeded in her office by her niece Isabella Velho, and by five grandnieces, daughters of Isabella in turn. In the reign of Ahmad Shah (who came to the throne in 1748) the Jats of Bhurtpur pillaged Delhi: and Sebastian Velho (the father of Gentil's wife) was murdered in 1761. His widow Lucia Mendoza thereupon took refuge at Fyzabad with her son and daughter: and was granted a pension by Shuja-ud-daulah which she enjoyed until his death in 1775. The other "illustrations women" of Gentil's biographies are Razia, Nurjahan and the Begum Sumroo.

NAWAB SHUJA-UD-DAULA.

Gentil gives an interesting sketch of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula. It is buried, strangely enough in a footnote (pp. 306-307).

The prince, he says, was of commanding height. His features were good, and he was endowed with strength and skill which were out of the ordinary. "I have seen him, with a mango in his hand, bring down small birds on a tree, extinguish a candle with an arrow-aim from the back of an elephant at a peacock on the wing and pierce it through and through with an arrow. I have seen him, when in camp on the bank of the Ganges, aim at a tortoise on the opposite bank and kill it. I have seen him, when sitting with Englishmen on a balcony, take an Indian gun in one hand and create with a leaden bullet an earthenware pot which was floating down with the current. I have seen him take a deer by the antlers and crush its head until the blood ran (came?) hamstring a buffalo with a stroke and bring it to the ground and with a second stroke cut the neck half through. I have seen him in similar fashion cleave a bear in half with a blow of a sabre, and almost divide a deer with another."

TILLY KETTLE'S PORTRAITS OF SHUJA-UD-DAULA.

Tilly Kettle, the painter, visited Fyzabad in the autumn of 1771 (9) and there is confirmation of this in two letters in Vol. III of the Persian correspondence (nos. 973-974). John Cartier, Hastings' predecessor (1769-1772) as Governor of Fort William, writes in identical terms in November 1771 to Nawab Shuja-ud-daula at Fyzabad and to the Naib Wazir, Munir-ud-daula, at Allahabad:

(9) Kettle returned to England in the *Talbot Maïaman*, which left the Hooghly on April 8, 1776 and anchored in the Downs on November 4.

Having learnt that the addressee very much wishes to see Mr. Kettle, painter, the writer has ordered him to proceed to Fyzabad [and thence to Allahabad after he has taken leave of the Nawab Wazir]. Says that he is a master of his art and hopes that the addressee will be much pleased with him.

Gentil tells us that Kettle during his residence at Fyzabad, painted four portraits of Shuja-ud-daulah. He describes each in detail. The first represented him with his son Assed-ed-Doulah [sic] and was, says Gentil, presented to him by the Nawab. The second represented him with his seven sons. This was reproduced for Gentil on a smaller scale, it was the copy which was presented by him in 1778 to Louis XVI, and placed by him in his private study at Versailles. "Both the picture and the sword of the *vézir* have disappeared since 1792, when they were removed at the time of the calamities which overtook the royal family" (10). The third represented the Nawab with an English general: "in the background was the elephant which he had been riding, and his retinue." The "English General" was, without doubt, Sir Robert Barker, provisional commander-in-chief in Bengal, for whom Kettle painted in 1775 a large picture of 'Sujah-ud-dowlah, Vizir of the Mogul Empire, with his four sons, meeting Sir Robert Barker, his two aides-de-camp and interpreter at Fyzabad in order to conclude a treaty with the East India Company in 1772.' This picture was hung by Barker at his house, Busbridge Porte, near Godalming, together with another painting by Kettle which represents a review of the Company's troops at Allahabad by the Emperor Shah Alam (11). The fourth picture of which Gentil makes mention represented the Nawab on horseback in "a Mahratta dress", and with a lance in his hand.

"I had these four pictures in my house 'says Gentil' in order to have them copied on a reduced scale, so that I could take them with me some day to France. The prince fell ill, and I showed him the copy of the first picture, of which he approved and which presented so striking a likeness that he kept it. The next day he showed it to the English Resident, to whom he gave it upon hearing him praise it. On being informed of this, I expressed my regret to the prince at being deprived of it, in such terms

(10) There is a colour print in the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall by P. Renault which was published on May 12, 1796, and is stated to be taken from a picture by Kettle representing "Shuja-ud-daulah, Vizier of the Mogul Empire, Nabob of Oude, his son Asaf-ud-daulah, the reigning Nabob, and *Nine* of his Brothers." According to Gentil, Shuja-ud-daulah had fifty-two children.

(11) These paintings are now in the possession of a dealer in London. For a description see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 147—148.

There is another portrait of Shuja-ud-daulah at Government House, Madras, which is probably also the work of Kettle. It was discovered with two others in a lumber-room by Lord Elphinstone in 1842: and is supposed to have been presented by Sir Robert Barker who served with distinction in Madras. The Nawab is shown full-length in winter dress and wears no less than four fur coats, and also a round fur cap of Afghan pattern. He stands facing the spectator in a carpeted verandah: and the background is composed of a dim landscape with trees on the right and a stormy sky. The picture is described by Col. Lovi in 1903 as being "dark with age."

as it was permissible to use: whereupon he replied: 'what need have you of my portrait? Is not my image engraved upon my heart?' 'Yes,' said I, 'but how can I show my friends what you are like?' and I added 'since you have given away my fine copy, I shall keep the original.' It was thus that I became the owner of a beautiful picture. Owing to the death of the prince, I was able only to obtain copies of the first two pictures, when the English compelled me to leave the court."

In addition to the portrait of the Nawab with his seven children, which has disappeared. Gentil must also have presented to the king the first of the four portraits which he describes and which (it is clear from his account) was an original work by Kettle. The late Mr. J. D. Milner in his admirable monograph on Tilly Kettle, written for the Walpole Society, was able to trace that picture in the Musée at Versailles. It is stated in Souliés catalogue (he writes) that it was painted in 1770, but upon drawing the attention of M. Gaston Briere, the present Assistant Keeper, to the probable incorrectness of this date, it was ascertained that the canvas is both signed by Kettle and dated 1772. Shuja-ud-daulah is represented in the Afghan turban with brown flaps, which he is also wearing in the picture painted for Sir Robert Barker: he is clean shaven except for the well-known moustache: and his dress consists of a long white silk robe, a greenish undergarment and a green *casaque* embroidered with gold and silver. His right hand rests on the hilt of a tulwar; and his left hand grasps the hilt of a *kutar* (dagger) in his belt. The son Asaf-ud-daula is wearing a rose-coloured silk robe with a noble colour of pearls round his neck.

It remains to add that the portrait of Shuja-ud-daulah, which forms one of the illustrations to the Memoirs, cannot be related to any of the four pictures described by Gentil.

TIPPOO'S EMBASSY TO LOUIS XVI.

An interesting account is given in the fifth chapter of the Embassy sent by Tippoo Sultan to Louis XVI in 1788 (12). The three ambassadors, Mohamed-Dervich Khan, Akbar-aly-Khan, and Mohamed-Osman-Khan, sailed from Pondichéry in the *Aurore* corvette on July 22, 1787, and after touching successively at the Isle of France on August 27, the Cape of Good Hope on January 3, 1788, the island of Ascension on February 28, the island of Govel (on the west coast of Africa) on April 3, and at Malaga in Spain on May 29, arrived ultimately at Toulon on June 9, 1788. There they visited the marine establishments and "were stupefied." Said one of them, "I am not at all surprised that the genius of the French nation and the perfection of their products, should be known in the most distant regions." Toulon was left on June 21, and "the arrival at Paris was a

(12) Tippoo had already in 1784 (on the conclusion of the treaty of Mangalore with the Madras Government) sent Envoys to Europe who were instructed, after sounding the views of the Sublime Porte, to proceed to France to secure the co-operation of that Government. But the reception of the envoys at Constantinople was so unfavourable that they returned in a rage.

spectacle for the inhabitants of that capital who with their natural inclination for novelty were more struck by the oriental costume of these strangers than by the importance of the mission entrusted to them." The king received them in public audience on August 10, 1788—an ill-omened day, as it proved, for on August 10, 1792—exactly four years later—his deposition was decreed. The envoys left the Grand Trianon, where they had spent the night, for Versailles at eleven o'clock in the morning: and entered by the great gate of the Court of Ministers, where the French and Swiss guards were under arms, with drums beating. They descended from their carriages in the Court of Princes, and were conducted formally by DeLaunai, the commissary general of the marine into a special apartment by way of the Princes' staircase and the Hall of the Hundred Swiss who were drawn up on either side, halberd in hand. The King, accompanied by Monsieur (Louis XVII of a later date) the count d'Artois (Charles X) and a retinue of noblemen, took his seat on a throne in the Hercules Room, which had been specially prepared for the ceremony. The Queen was placed in a tribune on the left with madame Elizabeth and madame, the King's daughter (the sole survivor as we know of the unhappy family): and in the corresponding tribune on the right were Madame, the wife of Monsieur, and the countesse d'Artois. Princes, grand officers and ministers and Secretaries of State were accommodated in front of the throne, on the right and left. The three ambassadors were then introduced by the master of the ceremonies and his deputy, and presented their letter of credence, with three nuzzurs on handkerchiefs of twenty-one gold pieces. Mahomed Dervich Khan, the head of the mission thereupon delivered an allocution which was duly interpreted. It is perhaps worth while to reproduce both the speech and the King's reply, in the form in which they are given by Gentil. Neither the one nor the other (he says) were printed: "political reasons stood in the way of their publication at the time."

Sire—The Sultan Heyder Ali Khan, of gracious memory, father and predecessor of the Sultan our master, and the most faithful ally of Your Majesty in Hindostan, after a long succession of victories, died sword in hand for the cause of the French (13), and with the regret that he was not able to fulfil his wish to send a solemn embassy to your court. Worthy heir of the courage of this hero, and above all of his sentiments towards Your Majesty, our master (whose reign may God prolong) continued the war with the same success and in combination with the forces of France. After bringing it to a glorious conclusion, he has hastened to carry out the last wish of his father. He has accordingly nominated his ambassadors to Your Imperial Majesty (14) and

(13) He died of a cancer in the back, at Narsingh Rayanapet, near Chittare, on December 7, 1782.

(14) Gentil has a note here: "It will be observed that the ambassador in his speech gives to King Louis XVI the title of Imperial Majesty. These strangers took it for granted that a great King must bear the title of Emperor."

has charged us with the mission of placing at the foot of Your Throne his most ardent prayers for the prosperity of Your Empire and the formal assurance of his intention to consolidate to the utmost of his ability the bonds of friendship which for more than thirty years have united Your Imperial Majesty with our master's illustrious house.

Our zeal to execute his supreme orders and our desire to contemplate in his glory the great monarch of Europe, have alone been able to sustain us during the fatigues and dangers of so long a voyage. All is forgotten in Your Presence, and at this moment when we are permitted the honour of handing to Your Imperial Majesty the letter of the sultan our master, we will not speak of its contents. Our lively emotion sire hardly leaves us with the ability to offer the homage of our respects and our profound veneration.

Our utmost desires will be gratified, sire, if Your Imperial Majesty will design to cast the light of your favour upon us.

The king, having handed the letter of credence, to the Comte de Luzerne, minister of marine, read the following reply:

I shall never forget, gentlemen, the firmness, the valour, of the late Heydar Ali Khan, my faithful ally, and I recognize with satisfaction that his virtues have descended to Tipou Sultan, his son: he has extended to me the utmost constancy and evidence of friendship. He may rest assured that I reciprocate them.

I will examine with attention the proposals which are being made to me in the name of your master. The choice which he has made of you, gentlemen, as his ambassadors is most agreeable to me, and I welcome you with pleasure on the soil of my kingdom.

The translation follows of a Persian poem, addressed to the king by Akbar Ali Khan, the second member of the mission, who was evidently a master of the art of adulation. We learn from a footnote that at one of the receptions to which all the ladies of Paris came to see the ambassadors, one of them enquired of Akbar Ali what he thought of France. He replied: "Madame, we look upon France as an immense and magnificent garden, of which you are the flowers."

Tippoo had not, however sent the mission to France to pay compliments or to be entertained at spectacles and fêtes: and when it returned to Seringapatam in May 1789, he did not dissemble his ill-humour. Nor was their reception by the Comte de Conway, the Governor of Pondichery, calculated to appease him. Conway compelled them to reside at a league's distance from the town and detained them for a month. The ambassadors, says Gentil, were able to compare the reception which they received from the first monarch in Europe with that of one of his representatives.

The truth was—and it is admitted by Gentil—that Louis XVI had nothing to offer but promises. "He had just emerged from a ruinous war and could not attend to provoke a fresh outbreak of hostilities." Moreover "the spirit of war and revolution was threatening both the thrones of Mysore

and of France." The envoys endeavoured to placate their master with stories of the splendour of France, her arsenals, her numerous armies, her manufactures, her magnificent cities, her immense population and the glories of the court of Versailles. But their recitals merely increased the fury of Tippoo who could not endure that there should be in a Christian country a monarchy which was more wealthy and prosperous than his own. Both Akbar Ali and Muhammad Osman were put to death "and no more was heard of the riches of France." Gentil extracts a characteristic moral from their tale. It is not without interest (he observes) that at this very moment the Revolution was preparing to destroy the resources of an empire which had excited the envy of the people of so remote a country as Hindustan.

A DEFENCE OF WARREN HASTINGS.

The sixth chapter of the *Mémoires* is entitled "M. Warren Hastings" and is devoted to an account of the impeachment. It contains a spirited defence of the Governor-General, which makes all the more pleasant reading because it was owing to the pressure exerted by him that Gentil was compelled to leave Fyzabad.

I was admitted into the most intimate confidence of the Nabab-Vézyr Choudja-a-ed-Doulah, who plays so prominent a part in this trial [of Hastings], and I was witness of the majority of his acts: so much so that I obtained a profound knowledge of the policy of the English and of all the enormities with which he charged them: and my experience extends over a residence of twenty six years in India, of which twelve were spent at the court of the Nabob-Vézyr. My testimony cannot therefore be open to suspicion. As a Frenchman I have always been the enemy of the English nation, and I exerted all my efforts while in India to diminish its prestige and its power. M. Hastings was well aware of this and that is why, in accordance with the orders he received from London, he did his utmost to separate me from the Nabab Vézyr.....Far from resenting this action of M. Hastings I recognize in him a statesman who fulfilled the duties of his station and merited the esteem of friends and enemies alike.

Several years after my return to Europe I learned of the odious accusation brought against him [in connexion with the Begums of Oudh] and I deemed it to be incumbent upon me to publish my opinion upon the injustice of the charge which I proved by my letter of 8th October 1787. My enemies having replied, I rejoined in such a manner as to convince them by demonstrating the atrocity of the reproaches heaped upon him for his conduct towards the mother of the Nawab: I justified it by citing his conduct towards Kand Kaumar [Nanda Kumar] who was described as a prince in India but whose rank was exactly that of a nobleman in Europe who enjoys no other title [to consideration] beyond his own effrontery and the patience of their fellow-citizens.

M. Hastings was charged with inhumanity to Tchetsingne [Chait Singh] in exacting a large sum of money. I proved the falsity of the first charge and showed in addition that he had the right to increase the contribution which was payable by him, on account of the depleted condition of the English finances and by reason also of the well-known wealth of this zemindar (who was not the sovereign prince he was alleged to be) and the benefits which had been heaped upon him by the British Government. Finally, I hold that I have cleared him completely of the charge of having joined with Chaudja-a-ed-Doulah in seizing the territory of the Rohillas, inasmuch as M. Hastings merely carried out the terms of the treaty between the Company and the Prince, and in place of blaming the Governor-General. He should be commended for having contributed to the destruction of a people whose chiefs were distinguished by their barbarity and their perfidy. In the belief that this reply might be useful to M. Hastings I gave it the greatest publicity. The judgment which was pronounced in favour of that illustrious man, justified my opinion: and before the result of the trial was announced he expressed his satisfaction to me.

Gentil tells us elsewhere that his letters were published in the *Journal de Bruxellas* and the *Mercure de France*.

EVAN COTTON.

The Last Days of Nawab Mir Qasim¹

(Based on Unpublished State Records.)

HISTORY is not very clear about the last days of Mir Qasim Ali, once Nawab of Bengal. Happily, the papers preserved in the Persian section of the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, throw a flood of light on the closing years of the Nawab after his defeat at Buxar (1764).

In 1760 the Calcutta Council deposed the weak and vacillating Mir Jafar and placed his son-in-law Mir Qasim—of whose ability they had a high opinion—on the throne of Bengal. The new Nawab proved to be a strong-minded and extremely intelligent man. Soon after his accession, he came into conflict with the Calcutta Council, who claimed exemption from the duty on the inland trade in country produce, although their Indian competitors were subject to it. It was an unjust claim, as they were entitled to exemption only with regard to the foreign trade. In the Council Governor Vansittart and Warren Hastings opposed it, but they were outvoted by their greedy colleagues who were carrying on private inland trade on their own account. Mir Qasim resolved on a bold solution of the problem;—he placed his own subjects on an equal footing with the Company's servants by abolishing all inland duties. This greatly enraged his opponents who thereupon started provoking him till he was—to use Vansittart's words—'rendered frantic' and driven to hostilities. Mr. Ellis, the Chief of the Factory at Patna, with several other Europeans, who had made an unprovoked and unauthorized attack upon his city of Patna, were captured and ordered to be shot by him.

Open war was now declared against Mir Qasim by the English and Mir Jafar was re-invested as Nawab of Bengal. After repeated reverses, due to the treachery of his own men, Mir Qasim fled to Oudh, where he had been invited by the Nawab Wazir Shuja-ud-daula, who was in reality prompted by a desire to seize the treasure—estimated at 3 to 5 crores of Rupees in jewels and specie—which the ex-Nawab was carrying with himself.

Both Shuja-ud-daula and the titular Emperor Shah Alam II., who was then holding his Court at Allahabad, helped Qasim Ali—although half-heartedly—in spite of the request of the English either to punish him themselves or to deliver him into their hands, so that he might receive his deserts. This was not done, and the result was the battle of Buxar (October 1764), which shattered the hopes of Qasim Ali, delivered Oudh into the hands of the English, and brought the Emperor Shah Alam under British protection. Soon after this, Lord Clive concluded treaties with the Emperor and

¹ Read at the Tenth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Rangoon in December, 1927

the Wazir of Oudh, and in 1765 received the grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Emperor who, in his turn, was assured by the English of an annuity of 26 lakhs of Rupees.

The fugitive ex-Nawab still had hopes of regaining his former authority by expelling the English from Bengal. He went to Rohilkhand where he was at first very well received, but the Rohilas finally decided to abandon a losing cause. Minor chiefs, such as the Rana of Gohad and Ghazi-ud-din, offered to help Qasim Ali, who even tried to unite the Marathas and other chiefs of Hindustan in a league for overthrowing the English in Bengal.

Ever since Qasim's flight from the field of Buxar, the English had been trying to get him outlawed and driven out of every refuge. They kept themselves well informed of the movements of Qasim Ali through the medium of Shitab Roy (Naib Nazim of Bihar) and the Rajah of Benares. Burning to avenge the massacre of the English prisoners at Patna, they were eager to get hold of the person of the ex-Nawab, and therefore they issued a proclamation that whoever would deliver Qasim Ali up to the English would receive from them a reward of a lakh of Rupees besides other marks of favour.

Qasim Ali, failing in all his attempts,—even his piteous appeals to the Nizam and the Ahmad Shah Abdali being of no avail—as a last resort turned towards Delhi, where he fondly hoped to receive the support of the Mughal Emperor.

Thus far, in brief, is the story of Mir Qasim up to 1775, as revealed in the first 4 volumes of *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, published by the Government of India. It is our intention, however, to deal with the last two years of Mir Qasim's life, viz., 1776-77, with the help of the unpublished records of the Secret Dept., of which the Persian Dept. was a branch.

Qasim Ali took up his residence outside the city of Delhi and sought for an audience with the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II. But the latter was ringed round by people who were eager to advance their own ends by betraying the ex-Nawab to the English. Majd-ud-daula, the deputy wazir of the Emperor, maintained a secret correspondence with Lt.-Col. Cummings, then commanding a British army in Upper India. Genl. Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief, placed before the Board the following letter from the Delhi minister forwarded by Lt.-Col. Cummings, offering to deliver Qasim Ali into the hands of the English:—

"..... You, my friend, may have heard from report that Qasim Ali Khan is arrived here with a view of paying his respect to His Majesty and of remaining at the Presence. As I learnt that the English chiefs were displeased with him I did not introduce him, and he remains in distress without the city. I have repeatedly written to the Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, that as His Excellency is coming to the Presence and will be accompanied by the chiefs, whatever measures will give pleasure and satisfaction to the English chiefs regarding Qasim Ali Khan shall be carried into

execution. His Majesty has also said—'At the time that we resided at Allahabad, the English chiefs petitioned us, that if Qasim Ali Khan came into our power, we would keep him under our authority.' At this time, in spite of prohibitions, and in opposition to the pleasure and orders of His Majesty communicated to him in repeated shukkas sent to interdict him, he is arrived....." (1).

Such an offer could not but be acceptable to the Board, who accordingly wrote to Lt.-Col. Cummings (3rd January, 1776) that, in case he succeeded in seizing the person of Qasim Ali, he should keep him under a strong guard, pending further orders from the Board.

Mir Qasim, however, was quite alert and further, some of the minister's letters to the English commander were seized by his people which increased his suspicion and made him more cautious about himself. Lt.-Col. Cummings deals with the proposed arrest of Qasim Ali in the following letter to the Supreme Council:—

"I have been favoured with your letter of the 3rd instant I need not observe to the Hon'ble Board that little stress can be laid on professions of friendship made by an Indostan courtier. I much doubt whether Majd-ud-daula had any sincere intentions of delivering up Qasim Ali at the time he wrote the letter and, still further, whether supposing that the case, he has it in his power, the letter I received from His Majesty under cover of Majd-ud-daula's took no notice of his proposal of giving up Qasim Ali, but was merely a letter of compliment, expressing his friendship for the English Government and unshaken attachment to their interest. I do not, however, think it improbable that Majd-ud-daula would wish to get rid of Mir Qasim as he has been intriguing at Delhi and endeavouring to procure an establishment at Court and his known abilities will render him formidable to Majd-ud-daula, if he can once get footing there. The minister's own situation is at present critical, as he is on very ill terms with Najaf Khan and has everything to dread when his expedition against the Jats gives him time to return to Delhi; this will no doubt make him anxious to procure a protector, in case of a reverse of fortune, and he must be sensible he can meet with none unless it be from the English Government and to secure this I make no doubt he would go great lengths and his influence with the King is unlimited. I cannot, however, think his Majesty will ever be brought formally to deliver up Qasim Ali, but if Majd-ud-daula can be brought to engage heartily in it, the King may be induced to permit his being seized and carried off and though this may appear an extraordinary proposal, I imagine it might under these circumstances be brought to bear; but it would require a good deal of address, and the strictest secrecy.

(1) *Secret Proceedings* 3rd January, 1776.

I am very apprehensive of writing to Majd-ud-daula on this subject as his correspondence with me has already incited suspicion on Qasim Ali, the last letter I received from Majd-ud-daula was seized by his people. My harkarahs brought one of the Nawab's letters opened and read by Qasim, the letter from his Majesty was not opened, luckily the letter that fell into his hands contained nothing of consequence and his name was not mentioned in it; but this is a strong proof of his suspicion, and has made me very cautious in my correspondence, since I wrote His Majesty an account of the affair and informed him at the same [time] that I should soon quit these provinces.....

Qasim Ali has at present a rabble of about three thousand men with him, but I do not think that (considering what they are) any objection to his being seized, if the Hon'ble Board think it an object of consequence and Majd-ud-daula agrees to his being seized (2)."

But the English very soon realized that there was no sincerity in the offer made to them by Majd-ud-daula. The Emperor of Delhi was extremely unwilling to betray his old ally and co-religionist to the English, even though by so doing he could have proved his devotion to the British interests. Neither could that impecunious monarch venture to give an asylum to an avowed enemy of the English, lest they should, on the ground of his unfriendliness, stop the payment of the Bengal tribute, which was already in arrears.

Fortune turned against Qasim Ali. His followers were falling off and the chances of a personal interview with the Emperor seemed remote. He now thought of appealing to the Governor-General's sense of justice in order to purge himself of the imputations thrown on him by others. Perhaps his idea was only to feel the pulse of the English. Col. Stibbert, the commanding officer at Bilgram, received from him the following letter:—

"Language is too weak to express the earnestness of my desire to enjoy the pleasure of a personal interview with you. I shall, therefore, not attempt it, but proceed to the principal design of this address. When I first heard that his lordship and the other sardars and gentlemen appointed by the King of England for the regulation of the affairs of all Hindustan (and who have since enlightened this part of the world with their presence) were on their passage, the news thereof inspired me with the utmost joy. The searcher of all hearts is witness that wherever I am, I am continually engaged in the pleasing employment of repeating the praises of the English as well for the wisdom of their councils, as for their equitable and friendly dispositions. I have the firmest conviction from that justice and equity which are inherent in the character of the English that they will never deviate from the paths of right. I have no ambi-

(2) Letter from Lt.-Col. J. Cummings, dated 15th Jany. 1776.—*Secret Proceedings* 1st Ed. 1776, pp. 341-45.

tion of dominion, the utmost of my desire is that the indignation which through the representations of my enemies has been kindled in the breasts of the English against me should be extinguished by the waters of equity, and that regarding me who wish only for justice, as one of their friends and sincere well-wishers, a correspondence should be renewed between us. Let it not be thought an extraordinary or exaggerated declaration that if you will shew this small favour to me (a dependent on your beneficence, who having quitted the place of my nativity and the residence of my family for a century, have wandered about the country in a forlorn condition for these twelve years), as to bring the whole affair to a candid and equitable enquiry, and [if] the least crime is then proved against me, I will submit to lose my head as a satisfaction to my friends. If you, induced by the goodness of your disposition, consent to oblige me by a strict enquiry into the merits and demerits of my cause and will communicate such intention to me, I will send a person to you with a particular detail of every circumstance from first to last. You my friend who are a man of knowledge and experience in the world will weigh the whole in the balance of wisdom, and exert yourself so effectually in my favour that I may obtain justice. By the blessing of God I will not this time be wanting in the performance of the duties incumbent on me, and I will exert myself so effectually for the interest of the English that great pecuniary advantages shall accrue to them thereof. What can I write more?

N.B.—The address on this letter is to General Smith, Jalal-ud-din Jang Roshan-ud-daula Bahadur (3)."

Ccl. Stibbert did not take it upon himself to reply to the letter but submitted it to the consideration of the Board (6th March).

On 8th June 1776 Hastings received from Qasim Ali a very long letter congratulating him on his being appointed Governor-General, and hoping that he might now expect justice (4).

To what extremities Mir Qasim, once the master of millions, was reduced, is thus described by a contemporary:—

"Qasim Ali Khan, after several adventures, and flying from one place to another, has at last taken up his residence at Palwal, a small town, 20 kos from hence, on the high road from Agra to Delhi. There, in a miserable tent, surrounded by a couple of tattered walls, does he, with a suite of about fifty attendants, drag on a wretched life. He is very studious to keep up the appearance of misery and poverty, and this to prevent any attack from robbers, great and small. He has, I believe, a small pension from Najaf

(3) Letter from Nāib Ali Jah (Qasim Ali Khan) to Col. Stibbert, Camp near Belgram.—*Secret Proceedings*, 2 May 1776, pp. 1558-60, also p. 1544.

(4) *Eng. Abstracts of Persian Letters Received 1776*. Neither the original Persian, nor the English translation of this letter is available in the Persian section of the Imperial Record Office,

Khan, though not openly; and he lives on that, and on some effects which he from time to time dispossesses of. Part of his time is taken up in dressing his own victuals (which office he trusts to nobody else), and in his correspondence; and the rest is invariably dedicated to judicial astrology. By the stars does he regulate all his conduct; and he is fully persuaded, that, from their influence, and from a due knowledge of it, he will be enabled, one day or other, to remount the *masnad* either of Bengal or Delhi, no matter which, with tenfold power and glory. In that pleasing hope I shall leave him. It is not improbable that before long, some one or other will make away with him, in expectation of plundering his effects. His brother, or cousin, Boo Ali Khan, is here; more, I believe, as a spy upon me and others, than for anything else. However, I have kept hitherto so much on the side of indifference, that I believe he no longer suspects me as he did at first. So much for that hero (5)."

Qasim Ali tried once more to have an audience with the Emperor Shah Alam II, whom he now petitioned as follows:—

"Expresses his earnest desire of presenting himself before the royal throne. Says that he has been reduced to misery owing to misunderstanding with the English created by the treachery of some of his own dependents. Has been an exile for 12 years and in seeking refuge he has been stripped of all that he possessed by his treacherous servants at the instigation of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. Prays that he may be given an office in the Royal Court." (August 1776).

Mir Qasim had perhaps counted too much upon the assistance of his co-religionists—the Emperor of Delhi and the Nawab of Oudh, as well as his own people,—and it broke his heart when every one of them refused to stand by him in his time of need. Thus placed, Mir Qasim Ali became anxious to regain the friendship of the English, as will be seen from the following letter which he wrote to a friend—probably Mirza Najaf Khan:—

"Has received his letter and is rejoiced to hear that he has recovered from his sudden indisposition. Says that he very much regrets having come to 'this district' at the call of Shah Alam for not only has he been subjected to vexations and annoyances but had to suffer heavy financial loss as well. His hopes are now centred in the addressee and as sincere friendship has existed between them for a long time, expects that he will now lend him a helping hand. Has never broken his word and will rigidly adhere to any compact that may be made with him. Requests him to use his influence with the Governor-General and Council so that they may again show him favour. Will ever remain faithfully attached to them and do what they may desire of him. Proposes

(5) Letter from Major Polier at Delhi, to Col. Ironside at Belgham, dated 22 May 1776.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1800, Mis. Tracts, pp. 34-36.

to pass his remaining years in the Company's protection ever seeking their welfare and offering prayers to the Almighty. Has been an exile from his home for many a year and is tired of the wandering life that he has been leading." (August 1776).

Mir Qasim vainly wrote to the English, assigning a long string of reasons why he should be taken into their favour again (29 August) :—

"Is extremely anxious to meet the Governor-General. May his heart soften towards him so that he may not deprive him of the pleasure of an interview! His case is deserving of consideration, for if the Governor-General views it justly he will doubtless concede that he (the Governor-General) is responsible for all the misery and distraction to which the writer is now subjected. The 'bread and water' which God gave him in his native land he regarded better than a kingdom. Now he is a wanderer in deserts and for three years has not had any peace of mind. It is strange that the English should have so far allowed themselves to be misled by interested persons as to ignore the dictates of justice and 'shut the door of friendship' against him. Has at the suggestion of the Governor-General written a detailed account of himself for despatch to the King [of England] and the Company. Hopes that the Governor-General will, in the meanwhile, try to remove the estrangement that has been caused between him and the English. Prays for forgiveness which if it is extended to him will enhance the reputation of the English nation while at the same time it will induce him (the writer) to strive hard to please the English in every possible way. His intention is that on arriving in his native land he would place his children in the protection of the English and then proceed by sea to the holy places and pass his life in praying for the welfare of the English. For twelve years has been an exile, and like beggars has wandered from door to door. By adding to his misery the English will gain nothing. He is already downtrodden, and it is hardly worth the while of the English to crush him further. Had at the instance of the Governor-General taken up the work of the Nizamat with characteristic zeal but was thwarted by the machinations of Nawab Mir Jafar whose perfidy, if recorded, will fill a volume. It is difficult to understand how, with all his treachery and chicanery, he should have managed to gain the good-will of Lord Clive. Denies having required the English to give up Midnapur, Bardwan and Chittagong. When rupture took place between him and the English, he lost all control over his army. A conspiracy was set on foot by designing persons who had chosen to support Mir Jafar. He then wrote a very polite letter to Major Adams joining in the declaration of hostilities between the English, his army had got out of his hands, and then and the Major might send some trustworthy person to suggesting that

remove the English who were seized, with their effects. Major Adams replied in an improper strain and laid the whole blame at his door. Samru, the German, who was appointed to the command of his army after Gurgin Khan had been slain in battle, contrived with Mir Jafar to bring about the assassination of the English prisoners, the object being to create an insuperable barrier between him and the English (6)."

Tired of leading a life of exile and sick of dragging on a wretched existence, Qasim Ali wistfully desired death as a welcome release from his miseries. He was seized with a lingering illness which culminated in his death on 7th June 1777. He thus succeeded in baffling all the attempts of the English to seize his person in order to gratify their revenge. The announcement of his death occurs in a letter from the Resident at the Court of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula:—

"By intelligence, just now received from the Court of Delhi, I am informed of the death of Qasim Ali Khan, the late Subah of Bengal, who after a lingering illness of some months, expired the 7th instant. I do myself the pleasure to enclose the Hon'ble Board an extract of the intelligence transmitted me (7)."

The paper of intelligence mentioned here cannot be traced. Major Polier, however, gives the following account of Mir Qasim's death in a letter to Col. Ironside:—

"Qasim Ali Khan is at last dead and buried. His demise was at Delhi, on the 29th of the moon Rabi-us-sani, that is, on the 6th June 1777. It is said he died in great misery, and that his last shawl was sold to pay for his winding-sheet. The King's people immediately plundered all his cattle and movables, and placed his women and children under confinement: however, the whole was given up again at Najaf Khan's intercession, and two of his children are come to this camp under Najaf Khan's protection (8)....."

Thus died Mir Qasim, the last independent Nawab of Bengal who, so to speak, made the supreme sacrifice in an attempt to save the Indian merchants from imminent ruin.

APPENDIX.

The Bengal Secret Letters to the Court of Directors for 1776-77 are missing in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta. These, however, have been traced in the India Office, London, and Sir Evan Cotton has very kindly procured for me the following extracts from them which deal with Mir Qasim Ali:—

(6) The letter is badly worm-eaten which renders it incomplete and cer-

(7) Letter from Nath. Middleton, to the Governor-General and Council, June, 1777.—*Secret Proceedings*, 30 June, 1777, pp. 1036-37.

(8) *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1800, *Mis. Tracts*, p. 36.

doubtful,
-acknow 11

General Secret Letter from Bengal to the Company, dated 15th Jany. 1776.

13. Abdul Ahad Khan the King's Minister has very lately made an offer to the Commanding Officer of the Brigade in the Field, both in his own and his master's name, to deliver up Qasim Ali Khan into the hands of the English. We have directed Colonel Cummings to accept the offer made to him, and to express our acknowledgments to the King for this token of his favour to the Company, which we also consider as a mark of his regard for the British Nation and a manifest instance of his great and impartial justice. (*Bengal Letters Received, Vol. 14*).

General Secret Letter from Bengal to the Company, dated 26th March 1776.

35. By advices from Colonel Cummings subsequent to the date of our last letter, we have reason to think there was no sincerity in the offer of His Majesty's Minister to deliver up Qasim Ali Khan, but that he wrote to Colonel Cummings merely to amuse him.

36. Qasim Ali Khan has himself written to us endeavouring to exculpate his former conduct and to be admitted a friend and well-wisher of the English. His letter having come to hand since the close of the Persian Correspondence, we transmit a translation of it a number in the packet (*Bengal Letters Received, Vol. 15*).

General Secret Letter from Bengal to the Company, dated 21st November 1777.

28. We think it proper to acquaint you with the death of Qasim Ali Khan which was some time since notified to us by the Resident at the Vizier's Court. (*Bengal Letters Received, Vol. 18*).

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

Akbar's Queen Mary

IN answer to Mr. F. C. Scallan's article on *Akbar's Queen Mary*, in the *Statesman*, 1st edition, July 15, 1927, pp. 6; 13, I shall refer Mr. Scallan to my study on *Mirza Zu-l Qarnain, A Christian Grandee of three Great Moghuls, with notes on Akbar's Christian wife and the Indian Bourbons*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society*, 1, Park Street, Vol. V, pp. 105-194. To what I wrote there in 1916, I shall add here what I published in the *Catholic Herald*, 3, Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta, Nov. 19 1924, p. 738, in an article entitled: *Father Matthew Ricci, S.J., of Pekin*.

"Mirza Zu-l Qarnain (the two-horned, or Alexander) had been brought up in Akbar's Court with the future Shah Jahan. They had been playmates, and Shah Jahan had to allow the Mirza many things which he would have suffered from no one else. Fr. Francisco Corsi, S.J., in a letter from Dinduana to the Assistant of Portugal in Rome (?); says of him (Oct. 15, 1626): 'He is a young man (*mancebo*). He is a great lord. He is very rich. His feelings (*spiritos*) are high and great, and from a child he was brought up in them. He has his special character and condition, and, what I value most, he is forced to live in the midst of an evil nation, and to be day and night with Moors and Gentios [Gentiles], and with them and through them to manage all his affairs, which are many and very important. The King [Jahangir] loves him, as brought up in the Royal House at King Akbar's order by one of the queens, who he called mother, and King Akbar he called father.'" (*MS. in my possession.*)

This passage does not prove that Akbar was the Mirza's father, but it may go some way, though not far, to prove that one of Akbar's queens was a Christian. I know that in saying so I expose myself to hear repeated some of the unpleasant things which irresponsible persons said in the *Statesman* after Nov. 14, 1916, when I started a discussion on Akbar's Christian wife. One of these unpleasant things was that, if Akbar had a Christian wife, there was little reason for Christians to boast of it, since after all she would have been only his concubine. Who says that, if we moot this discussion, it is with a view of boasting that Akbar had a Christian wife, or that, if we do not succeed in proving her existence, we invented her for the sake of boasting? We find that for nearly a hundred years, if not more, this discussion turns up periodically. We did not start it. We are interested in it, as men must be in the matters of this sort and will continue to be, so long as clear proofs are not at hand one way or the other.

A childless queen in Akbar's harem adopted and educated till the age of twelve Mirza Zu-l Qarnain and his brother Mirza Skanderus, the sons of Mirza Sikandar, an 'Armenian' of Aleppo, and of Juliana, daughter of Khawaja Abdul-Hayy, other 'Armenian' in Akbar's service. Who was this childless queen?

In 1605, Mirza Zu-l Qarnain was 14 years old, and Mirza Skanderus was 11. (Cf. *MASB.*, V. 118.) The former was therefore born in 1591, and the latter in 1594. Akbar himself as a favour had given the name of Mirza Zu-l Qarnain to Sikandar's first son. (*Ibid.*, p. 132.) In 1598, Akbar insisted that Sikandar should marry the sister of Bibi Juliana, then dead. Sikandar did so, in spite of the opposition of the Jesuit Fathers at Lahore. Why did Akbar interfere in this matter and give trouble to the Fathers about it? Was it simply because he had had a special affection for Bibi Juliana, or because there was in the harem a lady, perhaps a relative of Juliana, who was interested in the matter?

At the end of 1596, the little Mirza Zu-l Qarnain began to come to school at the house of the Fathers in the Lahore Fort. On this occasion Fr. Jerome Xavier, S.J., writes (Lahore, Sept. 8, 1596): "The King [Akbar] treats him like his son, and there are not wanting who say that he is (but this is known to God); at any rate, he does not deal more familiarly with his grandson [Khurram, later Shah Jahan], the son of the Prince" [Salim; later Jahangir].

The suspicion of some was therefore that Zu-l Qarnain was the illegitimate son of Akbar by Bibi Juliana, who moved freely in and out of the women's quarters in the Lahore Palace. Out of his special affection for Bibi Juliana Akbar had given her two sons to be adopted by the childless queen (*MASB.*, V. 132.) We do not read that Bibi Juliana was a lady doctor attached to the women's quarters. She may have been, for not a few Armenians, Syrians or Chaldeans were reputed as excellent doctors in those days. We suspect that Juliana had a sister or relatives in the harem. The Jesuits never say so, as far as their letters are known to me. This of course is a formidable objection. Could Sikandar and Juliana and Khwaja Abdul-Hayy and other members of the family have kept this secret from the Jesuits? Some simple questions ought to have wrenched the secret from the children, Mirza Zu-l Qarnain and Mirza Sikandar, both of whom must have frequented the school of the Fathers. No doubt, the Fathers would have had no access whatever, under ordinary circumstances, to the women's quarters. At Lahore, they lived however so near to the palace that they could not sleep on their terrace, which when Akbar heard the Fathers complain of, he gave them the use for the nights of his pleasure-boat on the Ravi. When the supposed Christian wife at some later date happened to die, how is it that we do not hear they were called in to assist her or bury her? This would have been an occasion for the secret to leak out in their letters. All the same, all through, we get no inkling.

Yet, some will have it that Akbar had a Queen, a Christian lady, named Mary, the sister of Juliana. All depends on who was the childless queen who adopted Juliana's two boys. Was it a sister or relative of Juliana's? Or was it simply Akbar's first queen, Rukaiya Begam, daughter of Akbar's brother Hindal, who was a childless queen? She died in 1626, aged 84. (V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 1917, p. 25n. 3.)

In 1596, there was with Akbar's queen (we are not told which) the greater part of the year a small girl, the daughter of the ' Armenian ' Domingo (Dominic) Pires, and when the Fathers went along the river and returned with Akbar's permission under the windows of his wives, Akbar's daughter would call out to them from the window: " Eh, Padri! Padri! By the sign of the Holy Cross God deliver us." (MS. letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier Lahore, Sept. 8, 1596.) Who was this daughter of Akbar, who, the Fathers say, had apparently learnt this salutation from the little daughter of Domingo Pires? She must have been rather young to act as she did. She could not therefore have been Khanam Sultan, born to Akbar on Nov. 21, 1596. (V. A. Smith., *op. cit.*, p. 452.) Akbar had at least two other daughters: Shukru-n nissa, who, like her elder sister Khanam Begam, was allowed to marry, and Aram Bano Begam, who died unmarried in the reign of Jahangir. (*Ibid.*, 102.) V. A. Smith does not note the date of Shukru-n nissa's birth. Aram Bano Begam was born on Dec. 22, 1584. (*Ibid.*, 456.) In 1596 she would have been 12 years old. I take it she was the marriageable girl who in 1596 was present when Akbar, going to his pleasure-boat on the Lahore river, would call the Fathers and talk with them in his daughters' company, a breach of Moslem etiquette. (*MASB.*, V. 173.) The little daughter of Domingo Pires must have been born to him from the Indian woman whom he married at Fatehpur Sikri on Sept. 24, 1582. On that occasion Akbar came to the Fathers' chapel. He even translated to the woman Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva's Persian sermon, and after the ceremony sat down with his children and two of his principal chiefs at a banquet *a la Portugaise* in the Fathers' house. (*Ibid.*) The salutation which Domingo Pires' little daughter taught Aram Bano Begam must have been in Hindostani.

Like her little daughter, the wife of Domingo Pires must have had access to the women's quarters in the Lahore palace. We are in the dark as to the reasons which brought her there. And so the evidence in favour of a Christian queen at Akbar's court remains thus far inconclusive.

There were in the harem ladies with Christian proclivities. How is this to be explained? Beale only conjectures that the inscription on a tomb at Sikandra refers to Akbar's childless queen, Rakiya Begam. It says: " I witness that Mahommed is the messenger of God..... that the unity of God is true, that the Old and New Testaments are true, that the Psalms of David are true." (Quoted from Mr. Scallan.) This inscription is an echo of the discussions which agitated the men's quarters at Fatehpur Sikri in 1580-1583. One day in a discussion with Akbar's doctors, the Jesuits were told that the Torah is the book of the Jew, the Gospel that of the Christians, the Qoram that of the Muhammadans, and the Zabur, or the Psalms of David, that of the Georgians. These doctors thought the Georgians were not Christians, to which the Jesuits replied that all Christians, the Georgians too, accepted the Old and the New Testament and the Psalms of David. (*MASB.*, III. 609). The inscription on a tomb at Sikandra is a strange one, whether the utterance be that of a Muhammadan or a Christian lady. If the tomb is that of Rakiya Begam, from whom had she learned that not only

the Old Testament and the Psalms of David, but the New Testament also, were true.' From the occasional visits of Sikandar's first wife Juliana, from his second wife, from Domingo Pires' wife and her daughter, or from a Christian lady living permanently in the harem? Her declaration may imply she had read all the books mentioned. She may. Fr. Jerome Xavier translated into Persian and Hindostani the greater part of the Gospels, perhaps all four, and other books, brought from Persia by Vechiete about 1604, ancient translations, some of them several hundred years old, contained parts of the Old and New Testaments. Copies of these would naturally find their way into Akbar's or Jahangir's Library. She may also have obtained copies from some of the Christians at the Court, through their wives. Where is this inscription found? In what part of Sikandra? Does it bear the date 1626, when Rakiya Begam died? If not, might it not indicate the tomb of a Christian lady?

There exists a stubborn tradition at Agra that the mausoleum opposite Akbar's, at Sikandra, *i.e.*, on the left as one goes from Agra to Fatehpur Sikri, is the tomb of Akbar's Christian wife. It was for a long time part of the Church Missionary Society's Orphanage, Sikandra. It was cleared by the Archaeological Department in 1912 and restored. Rousselet in his *Indian and its Native Princes*, 1878, writes: "Near Akbar's Mausoleum, beyond the enclosure, stands a ruined cenotaph, containing the tomb of Akbar's Christian wife, the Begum Marie. "Rousselet travelled in India in 1864-65. The Rev. Henry Lewis writes in his *History of Sikandra* (date?): "The spot [for the Sikandra Orphanage] fixed upon was remarkably appropriate. For upon it, and forming a conspicuous feature in the country around, was standing in solitary splendour the massive tomb of Queen Mariyam, the Christian wife of that enlightened, though capricious, Mahometan monarch, Akbar..... Nothing is known of the woman selected for this honour, except that her name was Mariyam-uz-Zamani, and that she was a Christian. She probably owes much of her subsequent fame to the fact that she afterwards became the mother of the Emperor Jahangir." (Cf. for Rousselet and Lewis, F. Fanthome's *Reminiscences of Agra*, Calcutta, 1894, p. 10). When was the Sikandra Orphanage founded? From its beginning it succeeded to a tradition still vivid at Agra. Did the tradition also state that her name was Mariyam Zamani, and that she was the mother of Jahangir, or did the Rev. H. Lewis add this own? Did he at least add of his own that the Mariyam Zamani buried there was Jahangir's mother?

Supposing that Akbar had a Christian wife, called Mariyam, it would not follow that she was Mariyam Zamani, or that she was the Mariyam Zamani who is said to have been Jahangir's mother. I need not speak of Mariyam Makani, for she was Akbar's mother. Of Jahangir's mother it is said that she was the daughter of Raja Bihar Mall, chief of Amber or Jaipur in Rajputana. (V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.) V. A. Smith holds that Jahangir's mother, Mariyam Zamani, whose title was a posthumous one, is buried in the mausoleum situated near Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. That

is the very place described by Rousselet and Lewis. If Smith is right in saying that Jahangir's mother was the daughter of Bihar Mall and that she is buried at the place shown by him, the tradition about the Christian wife buried in that mausoleum is evidently wrong. But, let me ask: Does the tradition at Agra state that Mariyam Zamani is buried in that Mausoleum? Does it add that she was the Christian wife? Does it add moreover that she was Jahangir's mother?

I visited that mausoleum in December 1912, when it had just been cleared. I do not remember there was any inscription at the cenotaph or in any other part of the Mausoleum. I was surprised to find none at the cenotaph.

Jahangir's mother died at Agra in 1623, says the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, XXII. 363; it adds that she is buried in the palace of Sikandar Lodi built in 1495, which in 1908 formed part of the Sikandra C.M.S. Orphanage. We should like to have clear evidence that the person buried there is Jahangir's mother, that her name was Mariyam Zamani and that she was the daughter of Bihari Mall. Would a Rajput princess not have been burnt? Mariyam Zamani may be considered a strange title to give even posthumously to a Rajput princess. If the title was posthumous, by what name was she known till 1623, only 4 years before Jahangir's death? Was she not called Mariyam during her life, the title Zamani being added after her death? In that case do we expect a Rajput princess to have been called Mariyam during her life? How would her Rajput father have viewed such a name? I write away from most books to be consulted in this matter, and without the notes I accumulated in 1916. I think there are passages in Price's *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir*, from which it might appear that Jahangir's mother was called Mariyam and that she was not Bihar Mall's daughter. Let the book be carefully examined by those who have the opportunity. I know it will be said that the work published by Price is not the genuine *Memoirs*, and that the genuine *Memoirs* are those translated by Mr. H. Beveridge. But, I have never believed greatly that Jahangir wrote his own memoirs. He had plenty of court chroniclers to do that for him, and the fact that two authors have tried to give us Jahangir's autobiography, might show that neither work is an autobiography, but is cast in the form of an autobiography. If then the *Memoirs* edited by Price were to contain details contradicted by the *Memoirs* published by Beveridge, we should not at once prefer the latter, because someone has said the former is spurious.

The name *Mariyam ki kothi* given to a small pretty building at Fatehpur Sikri is no authority by itself to assign to Akbar a Christian wife. I believe the guides who conducted me round the place said it was the house of Mariyam buried at Sikandra, and that she was the daughter of a Rajput Raja. But there is no knowing how much these men, said to be hereditary cicerones of the place, have learned from tradition, pure and unalloyed, and how much they learn from intelligent travellers. They may learn up the theories

fashionable in books. Father H. Heras, S.J., of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, thinks it is the third house occupied at Fatehpur Sikri by the first Jesuit Mission (1580-83). Cf. his several publications on this matter: (1) *The story of Akbar's Christian Wife*, in *Journal of Indian History*, Allahabad University, Vol. 3, Pt. 2, 1924, pp. 218-235 (this publication is difficult to get; the publishers, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, may direct you to the editors, and the editors of the Allahabad University to the publishers); (2) *A Catholic Chapel in the Court of Akbar*, in *St. Xavier's College Magazine*, Bombay, Sept. 1923, pp. 66-72 (illustrated); (3) *Akbar's Palace in Fatehpur Sikri*, in *The Examiner*, Bombay (Medows Street, Fort, Bombay), May 19, 1923; (4) another article, *ibid.*, July 28, 1923. I have spoken in the same sense as Fr. Heras in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1, Park Street), Vol. III, No. 9 (1914), p. 531. Judging however from the proximity of *Mariyam ki kothi* to what is called Jodh Bai's palace, the palace of one of the Queens (?), one might doubt whether *Mariyam ki kothi* was the house of the Fathers. I refer (*ibid.*) to another building with a gable roof of which Fr. Felix, O.C., now at the Catholic cathedral, Lahore, showed me once a photograph. He thought it was a Christian Church. I have however no clear notion as to how far it is situated from *Mariyam ki kothi*. I overlooked it in 1913, on my visit to Fatehpur Sikri. Two paintings supposed to represent the Annunciation and the Fall of Adam and Eve, both in *Mariyam ki kothi*, are likely enough good indications that the room in which the paintings are was the Fathers' domestic chapel (1580-83); but would not the building have been called 'the Fathers' House' during their stay there? Why should it have been called *Mariyam ki kothi* after they were gone? Was it called so because it contained a picture of the Annunciation, or because the last occupant was a Mariyam, either the supposed Christian wife, or Mariyam Makani, Akbar's mother, who died in 1604 at Agra, or Mariyam Zamani, Jahangir's mother, whom I here suppose to be distinct from Akbar's Christian wife? Akbar did not leave Fatehpur Sikri for Lahore till 1586, three years after the Fathers had gone back to Goa. During the next 13 years, he did not return to it. The place was not altogether abandoned after 1586. Prince Salim (Jahangir) was occasionally there after 1586, for instance in 1604. Cf. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, 311; 314-315. The last occupant, if a Mary, may have had pictures made representing our Lady or symbolical of her.

As regards two pictures of Akbar and his Christian wife which I published in the *Statesman* on Nov. 14, 1916, they are as little authenticated as a certain Hindostani book, printed without name of author, printer, place and year, against all Government regulations. That book gives the lives of Akbar's wives, and among them that of Mariyam, Akbar's Christian wife. The chapter on Mariyam is taken from a small work by Talboys Wheeler, a short of text-book of Indian history, in which the author imagines what her life must have been, if she existed. The Indian compiler has however inserted most incongruous details of his own invention. If some one were to get hold of the book and to publish a translation of the chapter on Mariyam,

side by side with the text in Talboys Wheeler, he would render a service, and hold up the book to ridicule as a disgraceful imposture. Why the book was published at all I leave to the reader to guess.

There is a pretty common suspicion all over India that hardly any of the pictures of the Mughal Rajas and Begams offered nowadays for sale in India is authentic; yet, they are all signed by the greatest artists of some centuries ago. However many we may buy, there are always more. Shortly after publishing in *The Statesman*, 1916, two so-called authentic pictures of Akbar's Christian wife, and wondering that they were so much alike, as if they came from the same artist, I had a letter from a person in Calcutta, saying that he (or she) had a cameo of Akbar's Christian wife. Cameos too: Where had my correspondent bought it, and for how much? As Mr. Scallan well remarks, what chance had any artist to make the portrait of any of Akbar's queens?

To run a profitable trade in faked pictures is a very easy matter. I can imagine more or less how it is managed. X. is a man of some means, who calls himself an antiquarian, a connoisseur in pictures, a collector of pictures. In fact he has always any number of pictures for show, and albums of sketches, which he alleges are all ancient and authentic. Ostensibly he is not a dealer in pictures; he has other means of income. All the same, behind the scenes he has at his service a number of present-day artists, Muhammadan and Hindu, whom he pays their pittance. I fancy he has his agents in different big towns, preferably gentlemen in impoverished conditions, connected or supposed to be connected with ancient Indian families, whom he pays a commission for the disposal of his rubbish. If someone takes a fancy to one of the pictures of this agent, but expresses doubts as to the authenticity or antiquity of the picture, he will be shown a corresponding small pencil-sketch on water-stained paper, though the water may not have affected the pencilling, and that pencil-sketch will bear the name of the same great court-painter of 300 years ago. Here and there will be read on various parts of the dress, in Urdu or Devnagri, such words as these: "brown, red, orange, blue." That means that the ancient artist who is said to have made that sketch was going to paint in brown, red, orange, blue, the corresponding parts of the big picture. And, indeed, these colours are on the corresponding big picture, and both sketch and big picture have the signature of the same artist. Is not that convincing? You buy the picture, and you are cheated. Your only consolation is that you got the pencil-sketch in addition, and for nothing. You are not so simple. You call in the services of an expert, of say—the Principal of the School of Arts. He tells you: "Beware! The colouring materials are modern; the canvas is modern stuff." This you object to the agent of X. He agrees after some demurring; he lowers his price; he knows the name of the artist now; he is Z., a direct descendant of the artist whose name is on the picture. The picture has some artistic merit; you buy it and are prepared to pay a fair sum for the sake of Z.'s direct descendance from the artist, whose works Z. keeps copying. You are cheated still. Z. is no relation to the old artist.

I know of one who on a great occasion, when Rajas and Maharajas, and all the big wigs of our Europeans would come to an exhibition of Indian art, exhibited some 20 of his pictures, and some 10 of them had hanging up by the side unfinished corresponding pencil-sketches. The organisers of that Exhibition were no doubt taken in like common American globe-trotters. The trade thrives. The public is exploited in the name of art and history, and our police is helpless. Is it, and is the public? Catch the fakers, and report them.

If I were to tell the story of Mir Jumlah and his Christian wife, I am pretty sure that in a year or two the picture market will be glutted with portraits and cameos of Mir Jumlah's Christian wife. I ought to keep the story to myself or publish it in some historical review, where the fakers are less likely to discover it. They will discover it all the same: for the managers of these shows are educated men. As the story has some connection with the tradition of Akbar's Christian wife, and might show that there has possibly been a confusion between Mir Jumlah and Akbar, I ought to tell the story some day.

Not so long ago, a friend in C..... told me he had a fine old picture to show me. It was with someone else. It represented the Magi, he said, and came from Tibet. "Yes, from Tibet. The gentleman who obtained the picture was in a hotel, at the.....Hotel, in....., in the Darjeeling District, and a servant offered him the picture for sale." "A Paharia servant?" "Probably. He asked £500 for it." "£500? How is a Paharia servant to know that a picture may be worth £500?" "Well, the gentleman said he had not the money, but would send the picture to a connoisseur in London, and take for his commission what it would realise above the £500. The servant agreed. The gentleman sent it to London, but it came back as archaeologically valueless." "And then?" "Then he tried to give it back to the servant, but could not trace him. He wrote to the Manager of the hotel, who answered he would have nothing to do with the picture, as the servant was gone. And now, he says, the hotel is closed." "By all means bring me that picture. It will be a big affair for my theory on ancient Christianity in Tibet." My friend was off, and I mused: Archaeologically without value? What does that London connoisseur know about that? I could perhaps make out a very plausible case for the authenticity and antiquity of that picture. Hayton, the Constable of Armenia, says about A.D. 1300, that there were pictures of the Magi in the Churches of Tangut. Tangut is almost our Tibet. I could quote several remarkable passages from the letters of the Jesuit Missionaries in Western Tibet (1624-35) about mysterious crosses in books of the Lamas of Toling and in pictures at Tsaparang, and mysterious characters round them which the Lamas could not explain. A Bishop was to be ordained in Mesopotamia for the Tibetans in A.D. 781, and the Tibetans, like the Indians, and the Chinese, and the Turks, and the people of Mesopotamia did not add: *Crucifixus es pro nobis*." Here was my friend, back with the picture. "Do you believe that man's story?" I asked my friend remained

reticent. You will suspect he was in league with the owner. Drop that suspicion. We unrolled the canvas, thick canvas, and, indeed, here was a picture of the Magi, and in a style, both for Our Lady and the Child and the Magi, such as I had never seen in my country or in any picture of the Magi. I sat down and for an hour noted every detail of the picture, so that, if my description was ever published, no other picture would answer it. Then I had it photographed by a friend. The plate showed only wavy lines, the cracks and creases of the canvas, and no picture. We tried a second time. Same result. I returned the picture to my friend, with a letter saying that, unless the gentleman was prepared to swear the story as I had heard it and as I duly noted it in the letter, I would not move in the matter, would not advertise his picture and possibly enhance its value at the risk of making a mistake. What was the gentlemen's name and address? "And by the way, I ought to see the letter of that London connoisseur." No answer came. How was I now to control the story with the manager of a hotel which was closed? Had the man speculated on that point to make control impossible? I thought of writing to the *Statesman*, in the *Notes and Queries*, under the striking title: "A Picture of the Magi from Tibet." Back, in Darjeeling, I heard the hotel was not closed. Other letter to my friend. "The address of that gentleman, please." No answer again. At my first opportunity, I went to the Manager in question, and heard to my surprise that such a picture had never been seen or heard of at the hotel; yet ought they not to have heard about it from that servant? And, what was more, no one had ever written to them to know where that servant now was, nor had they answered any such inquiry. They were indignant, naturally. "Can you give us that man's name and address?" "No, not yet; if I knew it, I would let you have it at once and we might look up your account-books for the time he pretends to have been here. Possibly the picture was stolen by Bolsheviks from some Russian Church, and they are now trying to dispose of it in India." I wrote a third time to my friend, and for that man's address, adding that, if he gave it me, he would hear something to his advantage. No answer still. My friend is a bad correspondent. I admire his discretion. I was not going to buy that picture all the same, but I know someone who, if I was taken in, might have bought it.

H. S. HOSTEN, S.J.

Portraits of the First Earl of Minto.

THE interesting article on this subject contributed by Sir Evan Cotton to Vol. XXIX (p. 105), under the title of *The Mystery of a Lost Picture*, led me to make some further investigations into the question of the portraits of Lord Minto painted at Calcutta during his period of office. I found that these numbered at least seven; and a few notes on each may not prove unacceptable.

I.

A full-length portrait was formerly in Government House, Calcutta, and is now at Belvedere. As will be seen from the reproduction that accompanied Sir Evan Cotton's article, it represents His Lordship in peer's robes, standing by a table on which is a roll inscribed 'Address from the Merchants of Calcutta on the capture of Mauritius and Bourbon, 1810'; while a map hanging from the table exhibits Java and the neighbouring islands. In Lord Minto's left hand is a partially unrolled paper inscribed "Mauritius".

In Col. Durand's catalogue of the pictures at Government House (from which some of the above details have been taken), and on the frame of the picture, this painting is attributed to George Chinnery, apparently on the authority of Sir George Scharf. The latter, however, gave no reason for this attribution except a general resemblance to the picture (No. IV below) engraved by Turner; while there are some grounds for regarding Robert Home as the painter. In 1887 that artist's grandson stated that Home painted a full-length of Minto in the year 1812 (Durand's catalogue, p. ii); and the fact that Newman's *Handbook to Calcutta*, 1882, attributed the Government House picture to Home shows that in pre-Scharf days there was a tradition to that effect. Moreover, judging from the reproduction, the painting is much more in Home's rather wooden style than in that of Chinnery.

The genesis of this picture is scarcely in doubt, though the facts have not before been brought to notice. The *Calcutta Gazette* of 7 February, 1811, reports that on the second of that month a deputation from the merchants of Calcutta presented an address to the Governor-General, congratulating him on the capture of Mauritius (which, as the base of French privateers, had long been a nuisance to the trade of Calcutta) and begging him to sit for his portrait, to be placed in the Council Chamber. The funds were doubtless provided by public subscription. We may note that Minto left for Java soon after this date, and did not return until the middle of November; it is quite likely, therefore, that the portrait was not finished until 1812—the date given by Col. Home. The inclusion of the map of Java supports this supposition.



THE PORTRAIT OF LORD MINTO
AT BELVEDERE.

II.

The Bengal Asiatic Society possesses a half-length portrait, painted by Robert Home and presented by his grandson. There appears to be no information available as to the date when it was painted. It differs in details from No. I.

III.

A full-length portrait of Minto in the robes of an earl, with the left hand resting on a map of Java, opened upon a small table, was sent, as a gift from His Lordship, to Batavia, and was received with due ceremony on 24 July, 1813 and was placed in the Council Chamber at that place (*Java Government Gazette* of 31 July). The description of the painting given in the *Gazette* shows that it was similar to No. IV, and was therefore the work of George Chinnery. Its subsequent history will be found under No. V.

IV.

A replica (or possibly the original) of No. III was taken home by Lord Minto, and was engraved in mezzotint by Charles Turner in 1815. That Chinnery was the painter is stated on the print. This picture (a photograph of which will be found in Mr. D. C. Boulger's *Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, p. 84) was presented by the late Lord Minto to Hawick Town Hall, His Lordship being at the time under the erroneous impression that it was merely another version of the picture at Calcutta (No. I).

V.

Lord Minto appears to have made himself very popular while in Java, for in June, 1813, when it was known that he was being superseded by Lord Moira, an address was sent to Calcutta by the Dutch inhabitants of Batavia, containing a request that their agent might be allowed to arrange for a portrait to be painted of His Lordship, to be placed in Government House, Batavia. The address, which was resolved upon at a meeting held on 24 June (*Java Government Gazette* of 3 July), was presented to Minto at Calcutta on 30 August, 1813, and its text will be found in the *Madras Courier* of 21 September following. As we have seen, a portrait of the Governor-General (No. III) was already on its way to Batavia; but this the signatories could not have known in time.

His Lordship acceded to the request, and once more the industrious Chinnery was set to work. Bearing in mind that the picture already dispatched to Batavia represented Lord Minto as standing, the artist this time depicted him as seated, grasped in his earl's robes, almost facing the spectator, with his left foot on a stool, while the address from Batavia was prominently displayed on a table to his right. The painting arrived at its destination on 23 April, 1814, and was duly installed in the Council Chamber at Molenvliet, in the presence of a numerous assembly, presided over by the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Stamford Raffles (*Java Government Gazette*, 23 April). Desiring to learn whether this painting and No. III were still in Java, I wrote to the British Consul-General (Mr. J. Crosby, C.I.E., O.B.E.),

who, after consulting Major Stoutjesdijk (Intendant of the Governor-General's Household), sent an obliging reply to the effect that No. III was no longer there, but that the picture of which we are now treating was still hanging in the palace at Rijswijk. At the same time Mr. Crosby forwarded a photograph of the latter picture, kindly furnished by Mrs. de Loos; and this made it clear that the painting was not (as I had previously been inclined to suspect) a replica of No. VI.

Subsequently I received a letter from Mrs. de Loos herself, pointing out that, according to the account in the *Java Government Gazette* of 23 April, 1814 (the full text of which I had not then seen, though I have since found it at the British Museum), No. III became the property of Sir Stamford Raffles. In his speech at the meeting at which No. V was received, Raffles said that Lord Minto 'has done me the honor to request my acceptance of the smaller picture formerly transmitted ... in token of His Lordship's regard and affection for me personally;' and he added that the portrait would be moved to the Government House at Rijswijk accordingly. This led me to communicate with Mrs. Raffles-Flint (the present representative of the Raffles family), who was good enough to tell me in reply that the portrait of Lord Minto is now in the possession of her elder daughter, Mrs. Drake, at Abbots Langley, Hertfordshire.

Mrs. de Loos also informed me that the portrait still at Batavia was acquired in 1816 by the Dutch authorities on their resuming possession of Batavia, they allowing the English government a sum of 13,000 rupees for the same in the settlement of accounts.

VI.

The portrait by Chinnery of Lord Minto, in a sitting posture, now in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, is the subject of Sir Evan Cotton's article, and all the salient facts known about it are given therein. I would, however, point out that these do not bear out the assertion made in the catalogue of the Memorial Hall, that the picture 'was painted by public subscription and presented to the city of Calcutta.' Quite possibly the artist painted it in the hope that it would be thus acquired, and his exhibition of it at the farewell entertainment to Lord Minto (1) may have been designed to that end. If so, the bait failed to take. There being already at Calcutta a portrait (No. I) acquired by public subscription, the principal inhabitants probably saw no reason why they should put their hands into their pockets again. At all events, no trace of any such subscription has been found in the Calcutta newspapers of the day, and the farewell address presented to Lord Minto contained no reference to the subject. The fact that the picture was lost sight of until it was discovered in Scotland some forty years ago may easily be accounted for on the supposition that the disappointed artist

(1) We must not, however, disregard the possibility that the picture displayed on that occasion was really No. V; though if the latter was finished by 6 December, 1813, one would expect it to have been despatched to Batavia earlier than March or April, 1814. Possibly no ship was available till then.

sold it to a private individual—possibly an ancestor of its late possessor, Sir Claud Alexander.

VII.

That yet another full-length portrait of Minto was painted by Chinnery is shown by an item of news reproduced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 29 July, 1814 from the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* of the previous 21 May. After mentioning the departure of Major Farquhar for his post as Resident at Malacca the paper said: 'We understand that Major Farquhar has in charge, for the settlement of Malacca, a very highly finished full-length portrait of the Right Honourable the Earl of Minto, executed by that celebrated artist, George Chinnery, Esq., of Calcutta.' This painting, which was placed in the Stadthuis at Malacca, was afterwards transferred to Singapore, where it is now in the house of the Colonial Secretary. Mr. Huggins, Private Secretary to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, has kindly furnished me with a description of it, according to which Lord Minto is represented in court dress and robes, standing with his right arm resting on a stone balustrade and his head turned slightly towards the spectator's right; behind the figure is a stone arch, leaving visible some houses, palm trees, and a strip of water. In the left foreground are what appear to be rolls of parchment. I understand, however, that the picture was in a bad state before restoration; and so the description quoted may be partly conjectural, owing to details being indistinct; and I cannot help suspecting that the portrait was really a replica of No. III or IV.

VIII.

In conclusion, a reference may be made to another portrait which was for some time at Malacca, though all we know about it comes from a work entitled *Translations from the Hakayit Abdulla* (London, 1874). A reference in the text to the concern shown by the Governor-General, while at Malacca, for the hard lot of the prisoners there, drew from the editor the following note: 'as a memento of this and of other highminded acts at Malacca, Lord Minto's portrait was procured and hung up in the Resident Magistrate's office; where he is represented as breaking the shackles of cruelty. When I saw it, in 1848, I viewed it with great curiosity. The climate had so destroyed the colours that it might have taken for a black Madonna.' If such was its condition about eighty years ago, we can hardly suppose that the painting is now in existence.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

Extracts from the "Calcutta Gazette."

I. Thursday, February 9, 1811.

On Saturday morning last [February 2] a deputation of the merchants of Calcutta waited on the Right Honorable the Governor-General at the Government House on the occasion of the late happy success of our arms in the reduction of the Isle of France. The deputation was composed of the following gentlemen, *viz*: Alexander Colvin, John Palmer, J. D. [Josias Dupré] Alexander (1) J. H. [John Hutcheson] Fergusson, Robert Dennis, James McTaggart, Joseph Barretto, John Robertson, James Scott, William Hollings and Johannes Sarkies, Esqrs. They were received by His Lordship in the Marble Hall when an address was delivered by Mr. Colvin; to which His Lordship was pleased to reply.

[Lord Minto was invited to accept a public entertainment and to sit for his portrait "to be placed in the Council-Chamber."]

* * * *

II. Thursday, February 28, 1811.

The entertainment given to the Right Honorable Lord Minto by the merchants of Calcutta in celebration of the important conquests of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius took place at Moore's Rooms (2) on the evening of the 21st instant. . . . At the further end of the supper-room were two transparencies. One was a view of Port Louis into which an English Frigate was seen entering under full sail. The heights above the harbour filled up the background of this romantic picture. The other represented Fame bearing away the happy tidings of the surrender of the French islands. . . . The great taste of the design and the elegance of the execution of these transparencies reflect great credit on Mr. Home....

III. Thursday, March 14, 1811.

The Mornington with the Governor-General and suite on board left Diamond Harbour early on Monday morning. She will probably leave Saugor in the course of this day.

* * * *

(1) Afterwards a Director of the Company from 1820 until his death in 1839. He was Sheriff of Calcutta at the time.

(2) Moore's Assembly Rooms were in Dacres Lane.

IV. Thursday, November 21, 1811.

Late on Sunday night an express reached town from Kedgerie with advice of the arrival of His Majesty's Frigate *Modeste*, the Honorable Captain Elliot, having on board the Right Honorable the Governor-General with part of his suite. The *Modeste* sailed from Java on the 18th ultimo, touched at Malacca and Penang, and left the latter place on the 1st current.

On His Lordship landing on Tuesday morning a salute of nineteen guns was fired from the ramparts of Fort William. He was received at the Ghaut (3) by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief [General Hewett], the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Members of the Supreme Council, and all the principal Civil and Military officers at the Presidency, who joined His Lordship in procession and walked to the Government House: the streets leading from the Ghaut to the Government House being lined on each side by the European and Native Troops of the Garrison and the Calcutta Native Militia.

A public breakfast was then given to the principal gentlemen of the Settlement, and His Lordship afterwards resumed his seat in Council.

* * * *

VI. Thursday, October 7, 1813.

(*From the Java Government Gazette of July 31, 1813.*)

The portrait of the Right Honorable Lord Minto, Governor-General of India was received on Saturday last with marked ceremony and respect. At an early hour a Commission consisting of Mr. Robinson, Collector of Customs, Captain Travers, town major, and Mr. Lynch, master attendant, proceeded on board His Majesty's Frigate *Hussar* to receive the portrait and bring it on shore. The troops in the cantonment of Weltevreden were at the same time under arms and on the portrait being landed a salute at the master attendant's wharf announced its arrival and a *feu de joie* was fired by the line. " The Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor [Sir Stamford Raffles], the commandant of the forces and the members of Council assembled at the Council Chamber at about 8 o'clock and were met there by a numerous assemblage comprising the most respectable inhabitants of Batavia and its environs—among whom we observed Mr. Siberg, formerly Governor-General, and Mr. Engelhard, formerly Governor of Java, who with some others of the members of the Dutch Government, took their seats at the Council table. . .

The Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor then addressed the meeting pointing out the purpose for which they were assembled, adverting to the address recently framed and transmitted to the Right Honorable Lord Minto from the Dutch inhabitants of this place, and proposing an appropriate

(3) Chandpal Ghat.

acknowledgment of the favor conferred by His Lordship in having thus placed his portrait in their possession (4).

* * * *

VII. Thursday, December 9, 1813.

Glowing marks of universal esteem and attachment were fully displayed at an assembly of almost all the respectable families of the Presidency on the occasion of a farewell ball given on Monday evening [December 6] at Moore's Room to that most highly venerated Nobleman, our late Governor-General, the Earl of Minto (5)....

At the upper end of the ball-room was placed a superb transparency representing Fame in the act of displaying to the attention of the historic muse a scroll on which were written the words " Bourbon," " Mauritius," " Java." At the top of the painting was an earl's coronet surrounded by a wreath of laurel which hung gracefully down both sides of the picture. At the bottom a bouquet of thistles with His Lordship's motto " Suaviter et Fortiter." At the foot of the room another transparency represented Gunga with a lotus in her hand reclining on a bank in an attitude of extreme sorrow while her regards were fixed on a ship which seemed to be carrying away the object of her regret. Over her stood Hope endeavouring to console her by drawing her attention to the prospect which opened before her. . . .

Mr. Chinnery's admirable portrait of His Lordship in a sitting posture was placed in the hall adjoining the dancing room and received the admiration of all for the grandeur of conception and great power of execution which it displayed. . . .

* * * *

VIII. Thursday, June 24, 1814.

(From the " Java Government Gazette " of April 23, 1814.)

A notice having been circulated through Batavia and its environs that the portrait of the Right Honorable the Earl of Minto, which the Dutch inhabitants of Batavia had solicited, had arrived from Calcutta and would be this day publicly received at the Council Chamber at Molenvliet, the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor and staff with the members of Council, attended by the principal officers of Government arrived at half past 9 o'clock at the Council Chamber where the Chief Members of the former Government, the Dutch inhabitants who signed the address to His Lordship in June last [1813], and a large number of the European inhabitants of Batavia in general, were already assembled to witness the interesting ceremony.

(4) This portrait is now in the possession of a descendant of the sister of Sir Stamford Raffles.

(5) Lord Moira assumed charge of the office of Governor-General on October 4.

The portrait having been placed in the most favorable position to receive the light, slightly inclining towards the beholder, and supported by a kind of altar covered with yellow satin, the green cloth which hung before it was withdrawn, and the picture presented by Mr. Van Braam: it exhibited His Lordship at full length in the robes of an earl, nearly as large as life, sitting in a highly ornamented chair, having before him the address of the Dutch inhabitants of Batavia, while His Lordship appears to be attentively working at the persons who are supposed to be presenting it.

The likeness of the picture to His Lordship is remarkable, although we think the contour of the head is rather too old: the features are distinctly portrayed and marked with that expression of mild benevolence which characterized His Lordship: the attitude is easy and dignified: the colouring is very rich in some parts, perhaps too florid. We do not pretend to offer any critical judgment on the merits of the painting: it may be however considered as a very elegant production and does infinite credit to the artist who, we understand, is Mr. Chinnery of Calcutta. The frame is superbly adorned and burnished and the whole picture forms a magnificent adornment to the Council Chamber (6).

* * * *

IX. Thursday, July 29, 1814.

(From the " Prince of Wales Island Gazette " of May 21, 1814).

On Sunday morning Major Farquhar, President and Commandant of Malacca, having embarked on the Good Hope, that ship weighed and passed through the South Channel in prosecution of her voyage.

We understand that Major Farquhar has in charge for the Settlement of Malacca a very highly finished full length portrait of the Right Honorable the Earl of Minto executed by that celebrated Artist, George Chinnery, Esq. of Calcutta.

(6) This portrait is now at Government House, Rijswijk (Java).

A Past Coroner of Calcutta.

HIS REMARKABLE CAREER.

TO the man in the street one of the most uninviting of posts that can be held by an officer of the Crown appears to be that of Coroner of a City like Calcutta. Yet if we survey the names of the past Coroners of Calcutta, within recent times at least, we find among them many well known persons. It is doubtful however whether Calcutta has ever known a Coroner whose career has been more remarkable than that of an American gentleman of the name of Mr. Jessup (we have not so far been able to get his full name). We therefore make no apology for presenting your readers with a short account of his career, taken from a Government despatch.

Mr. Jessup was born in America in 1738 or so but his early career and his parentage are lost in obscurity. We gather however that Mr. Jessup was at one time in possession of extensive landed property in the Province of New York. At the commencement of the rebellion in America in the year 1774 or 1775 his loyalty to his sovereign and his attachment to Great Britain were manifested by the act of raising for His Majesty's service a Regiment of Loyalists whom he was appointed to command as Colonel under a Commission from the Crown. With this Corps he served throughout the war, chiefly in the Province of Canada and was present in all the actions of the Campaign of 1777 which terminated in the "unfortunate" Convention of Saratoga.

In consequence of the active part taken by Mr. Jessup in support of the interest of Great Britain, he was proscribed by name in a Proclamation issued by the American Congress in the year 1776 and at the close of the American War of Independence in 1783 the whole of his property was confiscated. His landed Estates were "exposed to public sale" and "we (*i.e.*, the Government of India) have been assured that they yielded the sale a sum of money little inferior to One hundred thousand pounds sterling." His younger brother who served under him as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment he commanded "is now stated to hold the office of one of His Majesty's Judges for the Province of Upper Canada."

After recognition of the independence of the United States, Mr. Jessup removed with his family to England and obtained under an Act passed for the relief of American Loyalists, an indemnification for his losses, but the amount was so inconsiderable as to afford no adequate maintenance for his family.

Under the circumstances Mr. Jessup came to Bengal in 1791 at a very advanced period of life and the then Governor General, Marquis Cornwallis, to whom his services during the rebellion and his sufferings in consequence

of its unfortunate termination were perfectly known, manifested a strong desire to relieve his distress as far as was consistent with his public duty. With this view His Lordship nominated Mr. Jessup to the Office of Coroner of the Town of Calcutta, being the only office in which he could conveniently be employed, which became vacant in the short interval between His Lordship's return to Bengal after the close of the War of 1792 with Tippu Sultan and his embarkation for Europe. "We have reason also to believe that Mr. Jessup's subsequent appointment to the Office of Justice of the Peace for the town of Calcutta was the consequence of Marquis Cornwallis's powerful recommendation of his claims on the Nation to his immediate successor Lord Teignmouth." Mr. Jessup received a pension for his services and the continuance of his pension was recommended by Government in the following terms. "Mr. Jessup is now (1808) in the seventieth year of his age and as the pension he receives from the Hon'ble Company constitutes the only resource he possesses for his own support as well as for the maintenance of his aged wife and of an unmarried daughter (both of whom were compelled to return from Bengal to England a few years ago on account of ill-health) we trust that your Hon'ble Court will acquiesce in the continuance of this provision during the remaining period of his life. In the ordinary course of Nature it cannot be expected that the pension of Mr. Jessup will continue to constitute a charge on the resources of this Government for a considerable period of time." The continuance of the pension was apparently sanctioned by the Court of Directors.

S. C. ROY,
Keeper of Records of the
Government of Bengal.

A Calcutta Painter.

(Reproduced by the courtesy of the
"Statesman.")

JOHN ALEFOUNDER.

AMONG the many artists who found their way to Calcutta in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, none has been so completely forgotten as "Mr. Alefounder, Portrait Painter in Oil and Miniature," who informed the ladies and gentlemen of the Presidency by means of an advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 19, 1786 that "he is perfectly recovered from his late indisposition and continues to take likenesses, as formerly, at Mr. George Forbes's, late Colonel Hampton's Garden, Mirzapore; and any letters addressed to him at Messrs. Forbes and Ullman's in Calcutta will be personally attended to." He goes on to say that during his illness his pictures "which were in general portraits of his friends," with his colours and canvas were "all sold by Mr. Devis's order at Buriell and Gould's entirely unknown to him and without his being once consulted on the business, though at the very time he was perfectly capable of practising his profession." Although he "cannot sufficiently express the gratitude he feels on the occasion" to those gentlemen who have returned to him pictures, prints, and painting utensils, he points out that a number of other pictures are still missing and proceeds to enumerate them. These include a whole length of his wife and child, "which cannot be interesting where the party is unknown," a "miniature portrait of Peter the Wild Boy painted from the Life in September, 1782," a picture of a "Match Boy, which is a portrait of a very near relation painted in that character," another portrait of "the same little boy," in mourning "with a silk sash round him," and a three-quarter length of "a lady painted with a balloon hat and white drapery with a sky background." The advertisement concludes with a notice to Sircars that if they wish to part with any such painters' utensils as oil, colours, canvas, and brushes, which they may have purchased at Messrs. Burrell and Gould's, "they may receive of Mr. Alefounder much more than they can possibly get of any other limner in Calcutta."

CAUSE OF A SALE.

There is nothing in subsequent issues of the *Calcutta Gazette* to show that Alefounder recovered his lost treasures: but on November 2, 1786, Devis, who had been absent from Calcutta, protests against the conduct attributed to him. "To a charge of so serious a nature my friends may think it necessary for me to publish a reply." He wishes however "not to hurt the feelings of a man with whom I once lived in habits of friendship by a recital of the circumstances which attended his unhappy situation" and asks leave only to inform the public that Mr. Alefounder's effects were sold "by the advice of Mr. Paterson and others of his intimate friends in

order to satisfy his creditors and to make some small provision for his support." He adds that he has "the sanction of the Gentlemen of the Faculty who attended Mr. Alefounder during his illness to declare that his case appeared so desperate as to render it expedient to send him by one of the earliest ships to Europe."

The name of Devis has not been forgotten and his skill as an artist is attested by the famous portrait of Warren Hastings which is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, and by that other portrait of Lord Cornwallis at Belvedere for which the citizens of Calcutta paid him sicca Rs. 20,000. But of John Alefounder and the paintings which he was so anxious to recover not a trace remains.

ALEFOUNDER'S WORK.

There is a short account of him in Mr. Wilfred Whitten's book on "Nollekens and His Times" (Vol. I. p. 329) from which it appears that he was known when in London by his theatrical portraits. Among them was a full length of Moses Kean, the eccentric tailor uncle of Edmund Kean who owed his education to him—"a stoutly built man with black bushy hair and a wooden leg" whom Alefounder painted in "a scarlet coat, white satin waistcoat, black satin small clothes and a 'Scott's liquid dye' blue silk stocking," which was his favourite dress. He also exhibited a portrait of Edwin the actor as "Lingo" at the Royal Academy in 1784, and this was engraved in the following year by C. H. Hodges.

The exact date of his arrival in Calcutta has not been traced; but it must have been in the year 1785 or early in 1786, for Ozias Humphry, who came out in the *Francis* in August, 1786, makes mention of him in the course of a long letter which he wrote on December 19 to Miss Boydell, the daughter of Alderman Boydell, the art publisher.

"Alefounder is so disappointed at the great expense which attended his journey and the uncertain profits that he has gone melancholy mad and neither knows any person nor can do in his profession the smallest thing. It is proposed by the friend with whom he is staying that, he shall be put on board the first ship and sent home."

We have here the clue to "the circumstances attending his unhappy situation" which Devis declined to recite in order not to hurt the feelings of a man with whom he "once lived in habits of friendship." And, although Alefounder claimed in October 1786 to have "perfectly recovered from his late indisposition," we find Thomas Daniell writing from Patna on November 7, 1788, to Humphry that "Alefounder is no better and never would be." Humphry was interested in Alefounder, as he made his gilt frames for him when he was in Calcutta in the winter of 1786.

In spite of Daniell's unfavourable verdict upon his health, Alefounder continued to paint. He sent to the Royal Academy in 1787 from Calcutta the "Portrait of a Gentleman." This was followed in 1789 by three miniatures, in 1791 by the "Portrait of a Dog," and in 1793 by the "Portrait of an Artist." In the *Calcutta*

Gazette of June 5, 1794, he "presents his compliments to the friends of the late Sir William Jones, who died on April 27, of that year at the age of forty-eight," and informs them "that he has painted an approved likeness of that Gentleman from recollection."

This must have been his last picture; for the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday December 25, 1794 contains the following announcement: "Death: suddenly, Saturday evening last, Mr. John Alefounder."

AN EXISTING PICTURE.

I have been able to locate only one existing picture by Alefounder. There is no foundation for the statement made in Redgrave's *Dictionary of British Artists* that an oil painting by him of William Shipley, the planner and originator of the Royal Society of Arts, hangs in the rooms of that institution in John Street, Adelphi. But Mr. J. D. Milner, the director of the National Portrait Gallery, to whom I applied for information, reports that in August 24, 1918, he saw in the possession of Miss Strangways of Donn House Shapwick, near Bridgwater in Somerset, a picture, measuring 30 inches by 25 inches which bore the following quaint inscription on the back; "Lady and child (Mrs. Graham of Kinloss and child) and Mr. Kitmagar: J. Alefounder pinx. Bengal, 1786."

Identification in the circumstances is difficult; but there was certainly a Thomas Graham with wife and child in Calcutta at the time. He came out as a writer in 1769, and after the fashion of those days, took to commerce as a means of adding to his salary. Hickey records in the fourth volume of his memoirs that in 1791 "a great mercantile house carried on under the name of Thomas Graham, John Moubray, Robert Graham and William Skirrow suddenly stopped payment for an immense sum of money." The disaster did not affect his official career for he was a member of the Supreme Council from 1791 to 1793 and again from February to October 1801, when he became senior member of the Board of Revenue. Lord Valentia who was his guest in 1803, tells us that "Mr. Graham resides in Chowringhee, in a very excellent house." He married Ann Paul on December 22, 1783; and his son Thomas Henry Graham, who was baptised at St. John's Church on November 29, 1784, "fell gloriously" in an action off the Sandheads on October 7, 1800, between the *Kent* Indiaman and the French privateer *Confiance* of twenty-six guns, "commanded by the celebrated Surcoute." He was killed "on the day in which he completed his sixteenth year as he was about to commence his career as a Civil Servant in the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Establishment:" and was buried in the North Park Street cemetery, where the monument may still be seen. The *Kent* was captured after an engagement of one hour and forty-seven minutes: and in addition to young Graham, her commander (Captain Robert Rivington) and twenty-one others were killed, and thirty-four were wounded.

PETER THE WILD BOY.

The discovery some months ago of a "wolf-child" near Allahabad gave rise to a flood of letters in *The Times*, and incidentally the name of Peter the Wild Boy—but not that of Alefounder—emerged into prominence. No mention was made of the miniature portrait which Alefounder "painted from the Life in September, 1782" and which he endeavoured to recover in October, 1786, from some unknown person in Calcutta who had obtained possession of it. All that was remembered was that Bartolozzi had engraved in stipple a portrait of the Wild Boy in 1784, the year after it was exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Details of the career of Peter were provided by three correspondents. He was found (according to one account) in 1726 in the woods near Hamelin in Hanover, when George the First was hunting in the Hertzwald.

His age was then estimated at twelve, and he was supposed to have lived on leaves and berries and the bark of trees. In 1726 he was brought to England by Caroline of Anspach, the wife of George the Second, who was then Prince of Wales, and placed under the care of Dr. Arbuthnot, but he remained incapable of speech and of education. Later on he seems, strangely enough, to have been sent to an English public school! There is a remarkable passage in Mr. Percy M. Thornton's *Harrow School and its Surroundings*, which not only reveals this fact, but supplies another and quite unexpected link with Calcutta.

"We find Dr. Parr and Sir William Jones towards the end of their Harrow career located in a dame's house and sharing the board of one Mrs. King in the strange company of George the Second's wild boy who had been captured in the Black Forest of Germany and—high tribute to the Harrow dame in question—was sent to that worthy lady as the person most likely to kindle the dormant torch of reason in a totally untutored mind—a task, alas! found to be beyond mortal power."

Notwithstanding his intractability, Peter lived for many years in civilised surroundings. A gravestone with the inscription "Peter the Wild Boy, 1785," may still be seen in the churchyard of the Hertfordshire village of North Church: and inside the church is a brass plate with a sketch of Peter's head drawn from Bartolozzi's engraving of Alefounder's miniature, representing him with a long beard at the age of "seventy three." The brass collar which he wore has been presented by the Trustees of the late Lord Brownlow to Berkhamsted School.

EVAN COTTON.

Selections from the Records of the Government of India.

(Home Dep. Pub. Con. 19th Jan. 1778, No. 8.)

AT a Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol delivery held on the fifteenth Day of December in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five in and for the Town of Calcutta and Factory of Fort William in Bengal and the Limits thereof and the Factories subordinate thereunto.

We the Grand Jury whose names are hereunto written sworn to serve on behalf of our sovereign Lord the King, for the Town of Calcutta and Factory of Fort William and the limits thereof and the Factories subordinate thereto do present, that there is now a Great want of Police, and many Public Nuisances in this settlement, which, as we are informed, cannot properly and regularly be rectified and removed without the interposition of the Governor-General and Council. Thus in particular the streets, and the narrow streets more especially, having been long unrepaired and neglected they appear in many places to have been encroached upon, and are now, even at this dry season of the year, in general very bad, so that if permitted to remain so they must in many places become again almost impassible when the Rains shall return. Thus also, there being no proper drains to carry off filth and water from the Town, the air is thereby at all times rendered noxious and unwholesome though if not remedied before the Rainy Season will then again be far more severely felt in a variety of ways, destructive of the healths and injurious to the welfare of the Inhabitants. Wherefore, and as His Majesty has been graciously pleased to empower the Governor-General and Council with the Consent and approbation of the Supreme Court of Judicature to make and issue Rules, Ordinances and Regulations for the good order and Civil Government of this Settlement, so do we hold it of the utmost importance for the Safety, Peace and Welfare of all and every his Majesty's Leige subjects of this Town of Calcutta that such said Rules, Ordinances and Regulations be made and issued so soon as conveniently can be done.

WILLIAM WODSWORTH:

Joseph Cator
John Sumner
William Pawson
John H. D'Oyly
Herbert Harris

ARCHD. KEIR FOREMAN:

Cha: Wagstaffe
John Sampson
Arch. Montgomerie
Nash Middleton
W. A. Brooke

A. L. Gilbert
Rich Johnson
W. Grant
John Fenwick
Edwd. Fenwick

J. Kneller
Page Keble
John De Veil
Alexr Van Rixtel
J. B. Smith
J. Carmichael

A true copy
(Sd.) JAS PRITCHARD,
Clk of the Crown.

(Home Dep. Pub. Con. 19 Jan. 1778, No. 10.)

It having been recommended in the Charge delivered by the Honourable Judge from the Bench to the Grand Jury to take into their consideration several Public Nuisances which Prevail in this Town to the great annoyance and Inconvenience of the Inhabitants; We the Grand Jury have taken the same into our serious Consideration, and with the utmost deference beg leave to submit to the Honourable Court such observations as have occurred to us, and,

FIRST, we think it a duty incumbent on us to represent as a public Grievance, the Great number of Houses, under the name of Rack shops which abound thro' out Calcutta,—This Evil is daily increasing, and the sufference of them, attended with Perpetual disturbances and Quarrels in the night, to the great annoyance of the Inhabitants, and some times to the imminent Hazard of their Lives.

We present as a Nuisance the erecting of Cajan Boutiques and Huts, and Cajan sheds in the streets, lanes and alleys of Calcutta where they obstruct the King's Highway.

We present as a very great Grievance and Nuisance the bad condition of the streets and drains in Calcutta, and Public roads and avenues leading to or from it.

We present the Custom now in use of letting Boutiques to common Prostitutes in the Public Streets of the Town, to the great annoyance of the Inhabitants and disturbance of the neighbourhoods. In Italy and other nations they are confined to particular districts and licensed by Government.

We present as a nuisance all Timbers, Bricks, and other lumber which incumber and block up the street, and hope effectual means will be taken to remove such as now, or hereafter may be found there. Also as a nuisance Brick and Chunam Kilns within the Districts and Precincts of Calcutta.

We present the Practice now used by the Armenians and Portuguese of burying the dead in their Church Yards, we hope Government will allot them a piece of Ground at a [suitable?]....distance from Calcutta, after the example they set some Year ago in the Removal of the English Burying Ground.

We present as a nuisance and Grievance the permitting or conniving at the Bengal Gaming Houses, which encourage Theft and many other mischiefs arising from such a pernicious custom. This abuse is particularly pointed at in the charge we received from the worthy member of this Honourable Bench and We concur so unanimously in its evil Tendency that we cannot be too earnest in recommending some means. . . may be used for putting a speedy and effectual stop to the Practice of it.

We present as a Grievance and a nuisance the [quality] of Butchers' Meat, Fish, Fowls, Greens and other Provisions in the Streets and Petition the aid of Government in allotting pieces of Ground in one or more parts of the Town for the Purpose of erecting public Markets.—Also the liberty taken by the sellers of Wood, Straw, Earthen Ware, and sundry other articles of vending the same in the Streets to the great Incumbrance and annoyance of Carriages and Foot Passengers.

Before we conclude we beg leave to observe that among the Indictments preferred to the Grand Jury there are many of so trifling a nature that they might be decided . . in a summary way, without giving the Honourable Bench the trouble of a Regular Trial, and detaining Jurys so far Beyond the usual time, and we hope some method will be devised to prevent it. in future, otherwise the duty of a Jurymen will be found so detrimental to his private Business as to induce every Person to try all possible methods to avoid this service.

Read this 18th day of December 1777.—

JAMES DURNFORD,

Reading Clerk,

A true copy,

Wm. JOHNSON,

Clerk of the Crown.

(Home Dep. Pub. Con. 19 Jan. 1778, No. 11.)

In the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. At a Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery held in and for the Town of Calcutta and Factory of Fort William in Bengal and the Limits thereof and the Factories subordinate thereunto on the fourth day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven.

George the third by the Grace of God
of Great Britain France and Ireland King
Defender of the Faith and so forth

It is ordered that the Clerk of the Crown do transmit to the Governor-General and Council a Copy of a Paper purporting to be a Presentment delivered in by Henry Guinand Esquire Foreman John Miler, Harry Grant, altho Spencer Cudber[t] Thornhill, Benjamin Aplim, William Panton, Francis Muir, Joseph Sherburn,

Reynold Thomas. George Shee George Williamson, William Walker Leonard Collings, Edward Tereitta, Suctonim Grant Heatly John Sumner, William Bruere Alexander Vanriable John Champain David Cummings, Joseph Bernard Smith and Frederick Willson Esquires the Grand Jury for this present sessions, to the said Court at the request of the said Grand Jury.—

Witness Sir Elijah Impey Knight at Fort William aforesaid the fourth day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven.

By the Court,
Wm. JOHNSON,
Clerk of the Crown.

A true copy,
Wm. JOHNSON,
Clerk of the Crown.

(H. Dep. Pub. O. C. 19 Jan. 1778, No. 12).

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR.,
Governor-General, Richard Barwell & Philip Francis Esq., etc., etc.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRs,

The great Inconvenience under which the Inhabitants of this town labour, by reason of not having fit and convenient Markets for the sale and Disposal of the several Provisions daily used in Calcutta, and also by the obstructions in the publick Roads, occasioned by the several Persons, who there sell and dispose of Provisions, to the great prejudice of the Town and Nuisance to the Inhabitants (as was also represented to you by the Grand Jury in February last) induces me to take the liberty of addressing your Hon'ble Board and lay before you, the Plan of two Markets intended to be built by me, if the accompanying Proposals shall meet with your Approbation, and which I most humbly submit to your consideration; And as the Town will be much benefited by the intended Scheme, and the Revenues of the Hon'ble Company no way diminished, I am the more induced to hope that those Proposals will prove satisfactory and be approved of by this Hon'ble Board and that the sum requested to be advanced, in order to carry the Plan into execution, will not be deemed extravagant, it not being one-half of the Expenses that will attend such Buildings.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient most humble servant,

EDWD. TIRETTA,

*Fort William,
The 22nd October, 1777.*

Those whose duties take them to the present High Court will be interested in the difficulties which confronted Sir Elijah Impey and his fellow judges to obtain a suitable Court House.

The Public Proceedings of November 21st, 1774 contain a copy of a letter from the Supreme Court thanking the Board for their assistance and asking for a commodious Court-House, also enquiring at what rate of exchange their salaries are to be paid: (P. P. office copy No. 1 November the 21st, 1774) the letter states that "we have brought with us from England gentlemen of character and education whom we have appointed clerks and ministerial officers of the Court."

The Board replied in a letter dated the same day (office copy No. 2A November the 21st 1774) stating their resolution to pay the salaries of the Judges of the Supreme Court at the rate of two shillings to the rupee, being an average between the fluctuation of 1s. 9d. and 2/2½; and in a further letter of the same date, they wrote that the Company had no house or building fit for use as a Supreme Court. "The room you mention" being a part of the house which we have for sometime rented from the vestry Church of St. John from the accommodation of the Mayor's Court. We propose continuing the rent of the house in like manner for your use till such time as the circumstances of the Company will permit them to provide you with a more suitable and permanent accommodation."

On December 21st 1774 (O.C. 11 December 28th 1774) the Judges addressed the Governor General on the subject of a new Court House, expressing concern at the Governor General's reply that there was no house or building fit for the purpose, and still more "at the undefined period that will elapse before one is provided"; but they express the hope that when the "Finances of the Company shall be in a state to enable you to follow the instructions in the said paragraph (i.e., paragraph 30 and 31 of the Director's letter) of providing room proper for the King's Court you will no longer suffer it to sit in a place which you join with us in thinking unsuitable to its dignity." They ask for a building containing 21 rooms; they comment on the necessity of an upper apartment for the custody of Records which have been hitherto been so ill-kept that the indictments and convictions of some persons now said to be under sentence of death are not to be found." They say that they must have "unembarrassed possession" of a whole house; this is a reference to a claim made by the Free Masons to two rooms in the house which the Judges were then using for a Court (P. P. O. C. No. 13, December 28th, 1774, letter from Mr. Middleton) and that they may not be dispossessed at the end of any one month at the will of the Vestry of St. John's, and that the house should be in good repair. The letter concludes thus: "It is with concern we see you reduced to the necessity of appropriating to us those apartments which had been before dedicated to the innocent amusement of the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement but desire that the invidious task of dispossessing them or the other tenants if that house may be removed from us." The several apartments declared to be necessary were; one room for the

sitting of the Court, one room for each Judge, one room for the Sheriff, one room for the clerk of the Crown, one room for the Prothonotary, one room for the Keeper of the Record, one room for the Accountant General, one for the clerk of the indictments, one for the Court keeper, one for each master, and various rooms for clerks, writers, etc., making 21 rooms in all.

The Free masons protested to the Judges at the orders to remove their paraphernalia: "we beg leave to represent to your Lordships that the whole front of the verandah, the two back-wings, and all the upper part of the Court house were built by the private subscriptions of the inhabitants of Calcutta," that the repairs had been carried out by the same method and that the Company had no right to the use of the upper part. The Masons considered themselves entitled to the use of the two rooms and the whole upper part of the building "on the occasion of their festival when they commonly give a Ball" and they end by hoping that the Judges will not lay any obstacle in the way of "our assembling as usual in a house to the construction and repairs of which many of us have contributed."

Mr. Charles Weston, clerk of the Vestry of St. John's in a letter dated February the 1st, 1775, writes that "the Vestry conceive that the public cannot be precluded from enjoying the benefits, which their subscriptions are obviously calculated to secure," but they are anxious and willing to retain the Company as a tenant. Meanwhile Mr. Archibald Keir offered his house for the use of the Supreme Court for sale or on lease; in the latter case he required seventeen hundred Arcot rupees a month or "if all the godowns are included, two thousand Arcot rupees a month." The Governor General moved in Council that a house should be hired, and a plan of a new building submitted to the Directors. During July 1775 the Governor General-in-Council had rejected the estimate of Lieut. Colonel Fortnom, the Company's Chief Engineer, to improve Mr. Keir's house at a cost of 60 thousand Arcot rupees and had forbidden any alteration to be made. Colonel Fortnom reported this refusal to Sir Elijah Impey in a letter dated July 21st 1775 and the following letter was the reply of the Bench of Judges.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Colonel Fortnom has sent to the Chief Justice a letter informing as that he is forbid by your Secretary to make any additions to Mr. Keir's house a copy of which letter we enclose. It was far from our intent, wishes, or thoughts to put the Company to so great expense for a temporary provision as we understand the Colonel's estimate for putting Mr. Keir's house in a proper state for the reception of the Court and its officer amounts to. Though it was hired without our privity we accepted it on your kind proposal meaning to consult the convenience of the Company. We did it without surveying it, in full confidence that it was, or would be made, proper for the uses to which it was appropriated, and relying on your performance of the orders you had received from the Hon'ble Court of Directors to provide us with a proper Court and offices, which order you had done as the honour

to communicate to us by yours of the third of November last. We have now had in a sultry damp season and a crowded Court the experience of long causes on which we have sat for many weeks successively not less than fourteen hours in a day and often longer. How much the health of some of us has been impaired by so severe an attendance is universally known, and it is the firm belief of every one of us that if we had been obliged to sit in the room now assigned to us, few of the judges, jury Counsels or such as were obliged to attend could have survived it. It cannot therefore be expected, at so manifest a danger to our constitutions and lives, that we should think of holding the Court in that room, in which, without additions are made to it, we cannot sit safely in a season like this, if causes of the like nature with those which we have lately tried should be again brought before us, and in an house which can by no possibility receive our officers. If offices are provided or proper allowances made to our officers in lieu of them, we shall be content (inconvenient as it is from want of retiring rooms and from the purpose to which it is at present applied) to remain in this house we at present sit in, until such time as we shall become suitably provided for. Large as the salaries which have been allowed to the officers may seem we do unanimously think that none of our officers have no more than a suitable maintenance, that had they been on one-third less, more of them would have been in a state of absolute indigence, and that as it is at present some of them could hardly subsist were they not entertained in our houses. They have derived very small advantage from us, the greatest part of our business having been in the original department of the Court. We are sorry we have so much reason to complain of the great hardship due to our officers, the great disgrace put upon us and slight to the King's Court by the Governor General in Council having rejected our repeated applications and at last having absolutely refused to provide offices for the Court, notwithstanding they have received the express orders of the Court of Directors to provide us a proper Court and offices, and that notwithstanding by the late Act of Parliament they are directed and required to pay due obedience to all such orders as they shall receive from the Court of Director.

We are, Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Your humble servants,

(Sd.) E. IMPEY.

FORT WILLIAM,
24th July, 1775.

R. B. R.

Our Library Table.

The Farington Diary: Volume VII. June 10, 1811 to December 18, 1814:
Edited by James Greig. (Hutchinson & Co. Twenty-one shillings net.)

Joseph Farington had many connexions with India and was acquainted with a number of Anglo Indians. From time to time extracts have been given in *Bengal: Past and Present* from various entries which possessed topical interest. Toll has already been taken (Vol. XXVI, pp. 169-179), of the entries in this volume down to the end of the year 1811, for these have appeared in the columns of the *Morning Post*. The three remaining years do not yield as rich a harvest as the earlier period. We do not know whether Mr. Greig has followed the example of the editor of Hickey's Memoirs and used his blue pencil. But it is certainly surprising to observe for the first time a complete cessation of references to Thomas and William Daniell. Possibly a coolness had sprung up. Throughout the years 1810 and 1811 Farington had declined to support William Daniell's claims to election as a Royal Academician, and as a matter of fact, he was not elected until 1822. He had gone so far as to say on one occasion (February 10, 1811) that William Daniell "is not a prominent Painter and most of his time is occupied and he is most known as engraver in Aquatinta, a low branch of that Art."

But if there is nothing about the Daniells, there are allusions to other notabilities. Captain Wells, the son of William Wells the shipbuilder, "lately returned from India where he commanded a Frigate," discusses with Farington on February 20, 1812, the merits of Sir George Barlow, the Governor of Madras, who had fallen out with the military to such an extent that Lord Minto had to come down to act as peace-maker. Barlow, he says, is "very obliging and courteous in his deportment, and very much devoted to the East India Directors," who recalled him and gave him nothing but his annuity. But he has "not large general views" and "looks at the world and all that is in it from his writing desk."

Still more interesting is the scrap of gossip which Sir Thomas Law retails on August 9, 1812. "Lord Wellesley told him that before the storming of Seringapatam his brother Sir Arthur Wellesley now Lord Wellington discouraged the proposal to storm the place thinking it would not succeed: and General Harris who as Commander-in-Chief had the principal credit in the business and great wealth from the success, absolutely despaired of the attempt, and had little or nothing to do with it." The decision was left (as at Plassey), to a council of officers: and "the opinion of those who were confident of success, carried the measure."

We get a glimpse of Sir George Hewett, the Commander-in-Chief, whose portrait by Home is in the Calcutta Town Hall. The informant is Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Carey of H. M. 86th Regiment, an old pupil of Farington, who had been a student at the Royal Academy before he obtained a commission.

Carey married Hewett's eldest daughter and went out to Bengal as his military secretary. He calls to see Farington on June 16, 1812, being then "returned from Bengal a few weeks" and informs him that his father-in-law now resides at a house near Salisbury, and being upwards of 60 years old does not wish for further employment. "The General was however speedily aroused from this condition of pathetic contentment, for in the very next year (1813) he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland and held the office until 1816. But for the moment he was satisfied with "a regiment:" and we learn what that means. "A regiment of infantry produces to the colonel of it a profit of from £800 to £1,000 a year and a regiment of Cavalry about £1,200 a year." More might be realized by keeping the regiment below strength: as "a certain sum is allowed by the government for the cloathing," and the less the Colonel Spent, the more he put in to his pocket.

On June 15, 1812, we read of a proposal to include the works of Zoffany, in an exhibition of the paintings of Richard Wilson, Gainsborough and Hogarth at the British Institution. Objection was raised: and Benjamin West whose opinion was invited said that Zoffany's theatrical portraits were painted with much truth and ability. But when the direct question was put: whether Zoffany would be considered a great artist: he replied in the negative "which settled the matter." A later generation has readjusted the artistic values of Zoffany and his critic.

There are two entries regarding a certain Dr. Middleton, who was vicar of St. Paneras in 1812, but who is better known in Calcutta as her first Bishop. On November 20, 1812, he calls upon Farington to obtain his signature to a petition to the House of Commons for "a new Parish Church—the pseudo-classic building in the Euston Road which endeavours to recall the Erechtheum at Athens. Farington records that he owed his preferment in the Church to the fact that he had been tutor to the nephews and nieces of Dr. Pretzman, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of St. Paul's, who had himself been tutor to William Pitt. In a later entry, June 2, 1814, he tells us that Middleton married the Bishop's daughter. "He is abt. 45 years old and has been appointed Bishop of Calcutta with an income of £5,000 a year and £1,200 for the expences of his passage to India." The Rev. Mr. Matthews who is Farington's informant, adds that "the Prince Regent addresses, him "My Lord," which was not expected as the Bishops in England have that title as Barons in Parliament." Nevertheless, on the afternoon of November 28, 1814, Middleton stepped on shore in the City of Palaces "without any *éclat* for fear of alarming the prejudices of the natives," to use his own words. Later on, Charles Lamb who was his school-fellow at Christ's Hospital, writes of him that he "is said to wear his mitre high in India where the *regni novitas* (I dare say) sufficiently justifies the bearing. "He died in Calcutta from sunstroke in July 1822, and is buried in St. John's Church.

It is well known that Napoleon imprisoned a number of English tourists who had taken adventure of the peace of Amiens in 1802 to visit France.

One of these was Sir Elijah Impey, but he was soon released. Not so fortunate was Captain Gerard "who formerly commanded the *Deftford* Indiaman." Farington mentions on October 28, 1813, that he had been confined at Verdun with his wife since the year 1803. They must have most cordially endorsed the entry of April 10, 1814: "The Abdication of Buonaparte was announced. . . Thus terminated the reign of one of the most malignant and remorseless tyrants that ever existed."

Captain John Gerard of the *Deftford* is mentioned in the third volume of Hickey's Memoirs (p. 326) in connexion with an incident which associates Hickey in an interesting manner with Farington. His ship was lying in the "Bengal river" in the spring of 1787, and as he was an old Westminster he gave an entertainment to "all of the school then resident in Calcutta." Hickey who was of the party noticed four landscapes hanging on the wall of the dining-room and was told that they were "the property of a very worthy young man, the second mate of his ship, who being a friend of Mr. Farrington the painter, employed him to paint them in the hope of their turning to account in India, but instead of his expectation being realised no person had hitherto offered half of what they had cost him which was £200." It was at once proposed to raffle the pictures, at three hundred rupees a chance. Gerard and Hickey were the last two left in: and on the final throw of the dice, Hickey won by casting eighteen to Gerard's seventeen.

Farington dines on April 3, 1814, with his old friend Lestock Wilson the East India merchant and meets there "Mrs. Boileau, widow of a brother of Mrs. Wilson who died at Calcutta." This lady was the daughter of a remarkable man, Eveneze Jessop a native of Albany (New York State) who arrived in Bengal in 1792 and was one of the four Justices of the Peace appointed to administer the municipal affairs of Calcutta in February, 1794. He died on April 10, 1814 and the announcement in the *Calcutta Gazette* informs us that he was "formerly Colonel of a provincial battalion of Loyalists in the American war, the event of which deprived him of a large hereditary property." Thomas Boileau who married Leah Jessop in 1796 and became a justice in 1799, was an attorney of the Supreme Court and died in Calcutta on June 11, 1806. His sister married Lestock Wilson at Madras in 1780 when he was Chief Officer of the *York* Indiaman. A record in Boileau's handwriting or a visit paid by him on August 13, 1799, to Mrs. Carey "the last survivor of the unfortunate persons imprisoned in the Black Hole" may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall. It was written by him on the fly leaf of his copy of Holwell's "India Tracts."

By an odd coincidence Farington is overtaken on his way home by the Rev. Holwell Carr, "nephew to Zephania Holwell one of the survivors of those who were enclosed in the Black Hole at Calcutta." He was the Vicar of Menhenist in Cornwall—a living worth £2,000 a year—and stopped Farington to tell him about "an extraordinary picture of Rembrandt which he had purchased" and which he subsequently bequeathed to the National Gallery.

On December 11, 1814, Farington quotes Captain Dorin as authority for the statement that "the late Lord Minto realised £2,45,000 while he

held the office of Governor-General of Bengal." His "views were to make a great fortune for himself, and that was his chief object." He did not live to enjoy it, for he died on his way to Scotland "where Lady Minto was expecting him," of his successor Lord Moira (who had not yet become Marquess of Hastings) we learn from the same informant that "he was very much liked at Calcutta." He had come out with great ideas of maintaining the dignity of his office and brought a Chamberlain with him in the person of Sir William Rumbold who was married to his ward, a daughter and co-heiress, Lord Raincliffe. But Rumbold went to Hyderabad with his brother George to join the firm of Palmer and Co., and Lord Moira "had reduced the pompous manner of living in which he set out, and by so doing has complied with the wishes of his friends" at Calcutta. It was, however, impossible for an intimate friend of the "first gentleman in Europe" to economize. As Dorin puts it, "he will never save anything in any situation such is his want of consideration for himself." Our last extract is not taken from the present volume. It is inserted to repair an omission. Farington's brother, George went out to Bengal, as we know, to paint, and died at Moorshedabad in—It was natural, therefore, for him when he called upon George Dance on February 10, 1810, and found Nollekens, the eccentric sculptor there "sitting to him for a profile drawing," to record that "Nollekens said he had a brother who died in the East Indies." This was Captain John Nollekens, who died at Chittagong in January, 1772, after fourteen years' service in the Bengal Army.

The Cleghorn Papers: a Footnote to History: being the Diary of Hugh Cleghorn of Stravithic, 1695-1696: edited by the Rev. William Neil.
(London A. and C. Black. Eighteen Shillings net.)

The diary and letters transcribed in this book are in the possession of Sir Alexander Sprot, M.P., a Fifeshire Laird, who is the great-grandson of the writer of them. Their publication affords another indication of the wealth of historical material which lies concealed in family record-rooms. For Hugh Cleghorn, as the inscription upon his tomb in Dunnino Churchyard tells us, was "the agent through whose instrumentality the island of Ceylon was annexed to the British Empire" in 1796. In this diary he makes good the claim and relates how he made the achievement possible by incorporating the famous swiss regiment of *Dé Menron* in the British Army. From 1773 to 1793 he was professor of "civil and natural history" at the University of St. Andrews: but he was of a roving and adventurous disposition and spent his time continuously abroad. He was therefore deprived by the Senate of his professorship and from 1793 to 1797 he was employed on secret service. During his visits to the continent, he came into contact at Nenchatel with the Court Charles Daniel de Menron who was the "hereditary proprietor" of a swiss regiment which was then in the service of the Dutch East India Company and was garrisoning the island of Ceylon. The Netherlands had been overrun by the French: and the stadtholder, the Prince of Orange, had fled to England and was living at Kew. Cleghorn set to work to induce de Menron to transfer his regiment to the

British Service and so to bring about the occupation of Ceylon. Henry Dandas persuaded the Home Government to fall in with the proposal: the stadtholder agreed that "the British should be received as friends: and Cleghorn concluded an agreement with de Menron on March 30, 1795. On May 13 the two signatories embarked at Venice and came into sight of Alexandria on June 10. Proceeding thence by way of Cairo to Suez across "the desert," they set off on July 6 for their voyage down the Red Sea in a Turkish ship of seventy tons which had no deck and was crowded with pilgrims. De Menron who was an old man of sixty, became seriously ill, but recovered: and on July 22, they reached Jamboo (Yembo) the nearest post for Medina, which Cleghorn describes as "one of the prettiest Arab towns to look at from the sea which I have seen." At Judda (Jeddah), which was reached on August 1, "the tenth part of our property was seized as due to the Custom House." After a week's stay the ship proceeded and put in on August 15 at Hodeida where "we are assured that we can land in our short European vests and drawers," but where they were mobbed notwithstanding. The temperature was 90 degrees, on the following day the party landed at Mocha and were received by two Bombay Agents of the Company, Messrs. Ramsay and Soper, at "the English factory, a large house on the beach." Here "we laid aside our whiskers which we had nourished since we left Venice:" his own, says Cleghorn, "were black and formidable as those of any Turk." The Malabar coast came in sight on September 5, and after a day's halt in Tellichery roads, the anchor was dropped off Anjengo on September 12. Owing to the heavy surf Cleghorn "put on a light dress in case of being obliged to swim" and fixed his box of papers under the seat of the boat. From Anjengo the final stage lay overland across the Travancore ghats to Tuticorin and Palamcottah and thence to Negapatam where Cleghorn and his companion arrived on September 26, 1795.

The transfer of the Swiss regiment was duly effected and the town and fort of Colombo, being thus deprived of the main part of their garrison, surrendered on terms on February 15, 1796. "England," wrote Cleghorn to Dundas, "holds the island of Ceylon for the payment of a quit-rent of £1,500 a year." Within a week he started on his return journey in the Company's armed ship *Swift* and arrived at Suez on April 15. He proceeded thence to Alexandria and Malta, and crossed to Naples in an open rowing boat. When he reached home, he was rewarded with a gift of £5,000. Joseph Farington records his arrival in his diary on March 28, 1797: "Dr. Cleghorn arrived in England after an absence of 2 years. He has been over-land to India. He crossed the little Desart in 3 days—about 90 miles in length—guarded by abt. 40 Arabs, met with no interruption—greatest Robber the best guard; slept abt. 5 hours each night. Can see high land beyond the Desart." The details would appear to relate to the outward journey: for in his account of it we find Cleghorn writing: "We derive security from the character of our Chief Arab conductor who according to report is the most determined villain of these parts and connected with all the robbers of the

desert. As they never attack those with whom they are connected we are assured he is the best protector we could find."

The administration of Ceylon which was left to be conducted from Fort Saint George, Ceylon proved a failure and a rebellion broke out. Annexation to the crown was determined upon and the Honble Frederick North (afterwards Earl of Guilford) was sent out as Governor in April 1799, with Cleghorn as his Colonial Secretary. But North quarrelled with his subordinates and Cleghorn came home in January 1800. His portrait is in the Government building at Colombo.

The history of the regiment de Menron has been told by Mr. J. J. Cotton in an informing article in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1903. It was raised at Neuchatel in 1781 by Count Charles Daniel de Menron and crossed bayonets with the English at the French defence of Cuddalore in 1783 when a young French Sergeant of the name of Bernadotte was taken prisoner in a sortie. After the change of masters from the Dutch to the English, the regiment was placed on the Madras establishment and was brigaded with the 33rd and 73rd Foot, under Colonel Arthur Wellesley, during the operations which ended in the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. On February 10, 1806, it left Fort Saint George for Europe and after doing garrison duty in the Isle of Wright, Guernsey, Sicily and Malta, was sent to Canada where it was disbanded in 1816. The Colonel Commanding was always a de Menron, and eighteen members of the family held commissions during the thirty-five years of the regiment's history. Charles Daniel de Menron returned to Neuchatel in 1798 as a British Major-General and died there in 1806. His brother Pierre François who was in command at the time of the transfer to the British service, remained with the regiment in India until March 1801, when he went to London and remained there until 1807: he died at Neuchatel in 1812. A tomb in the garrison cemetery at Seringapatam bears the name of Lieut.-Colonel Henry David de Menron who died there in 1804 at the fifty-two.

We cannot conclude without a reference to the curious career of an English nomad, which is mentioned by Cleghorn. A certain Major Roberts, he writes, died shortly before his arrival at Alexandria in the house of Mr. Baldwin the British Consul. He had been confined in irons at Judda, although more than eighty years of age. Roberts, it appears, was a pseudonym. "He was Mr. Seton of Touch in Stirlingshire, whom a strange caprice had at his age carried without ostensible object to India and who traversed a great part of that continent in the dress of a Moorman, always concealing his real name from his country-men."

Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit from December 16, 1772 to February 18, 1773 at Rangpur, Dinajpur, Purnea and Rajmahal:
Vols. V. to VIII. (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Rupees
Seventeen and Annas Eight or One Pound and Seven Shillings).

The first three volumes of this series (published in one volume) dealt with the proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar and Kasimbazar between June 10 and September 17, 1772. The fourth volume was

concerned with the Committee's visit to Dacca (October 3 to November 28, 1772) and was reviewed in Vol. XXXIII of *Bengal: Past and Present* (p. 158).

The Committee, consisting of Philip Milner Dacres, President, and James Lawrell and John Graham, members, assemble at Rangpur for the despatch of business on December 16, 1772. Charles Purling, the Supervisor of Rangpur, transmits the accounts together with "a Representation of the State of the Country." Much of the Committee's time is taken up with the affairs of the "Boutanners" and "Durrindernarain Rajah of Couch Beyhar." The pergana of Baikanthpur, say the Committee (*inter alia*). "We find to have been originally a Jaghire possessed by the Raykub or Umbrella bearer of the Rajah of Behar in Virtue of his office." Captain John Jones submits reports of an expedition undertaken on behalf of the Rajah against the Bhutanese: in the course of which he carries their fortress by storm "with considerable loss as it was resolutely defended by a very great Multitude," and is himself wounded.

Dinajpur is reached on January 2, and the proceedings at that place continue until January 26. The depredations of the sannyasis figure prominently in the documents. William Marriott is the Collector here. On February 2 the Committee assemble at Purnea and remain a week. George Gustavus Ducarel, the Collector, reports backwardness and deficiency in the collections, which is attributed to the cheapness and low price of grain and the want of specie. More is heard of the operations against the Sannyasis: "I am sufficiently equipped" writes Captain Robert Stewart from Camp Rajmahal, "to revenge every Insult offered to me."

From Purnea the Committee proceed to Rajmahal, where they halt from February 15 to February 18. But the original manuscript volume of the proceedings is missing: and only such documents are printed as are available. These include a long letter from "Camp Jellpyegaurie, February 3rd, 1773," in which Captain Stewart describes an engagement with "the United Army of the Sunassies and Durrup Deow, Rajah of the Bycunpore Country," which he "was fortunate enough to route without firing a shot till after their flight commenced." The Collector of Rajmahal, William Harwood, presents the usual accounts. Having transacted their business the committee resolve to return to the Presidency.

Bengal District Records: Rangpur, Volume V: 1786-1787: Letters Received.
(Bengal Secretariat Book Depot: Rupees Thirty-two and Annas Eight
or Two Pounds and Ten Shillings).

The last volume of "letters received" in the series of Rangpur District Records was the third and covered the period between 1783 and 1785. There is still no introduction and this is a matter for regret. The collectors were William Kervil Amherst who died at Rangpur on April 20, 1792, at the age of thirty-one, and from February 6, 1786, Day Hort Macdowal, with James Graham as his assistant. The "Rungpore Burgundassy" (bar-kandazes) are busy with operations against the Fakeers and other banditti from "the Gurkha Rajahs country:" and many of the letters are in the

nature of reports from the commanding officers. On March 11, 1786, Capt. Nathaniel Alexander writes from "Camp Needantarraghurry" to inform Lieutenant-General Robert Sloper, the Commander-in-Chief, that "the Fort we have taken was a Square of about thirty Paces, with a Square Bastion in the centre of each face, surrounded with large Stakes or Timbers of Wood, the whole surrounded with a large and Deep Ditch." On May 2, 1786, Mr. George Hatch is appointed to the charge of the collections of Dinajpur and Mr. Richard Goodlad in a similar capacity to Goragant: and these districts are separated from Rangpur. Hatch sends a chit on May 10 to say that "the Comm[itt]ee have directed me to make the settlement immediately and the Rascal of a Naib here is lying I believe like a Trumpeter." Christopher Poole, writing from "Mareah" on May 16, encloses a copy of a letter of discharge signed by Warren Hastings on January 8, 1775, and testifying that he is a Serjeant-Major of Sepoys and "hath served the Hon'ble Company his contracted Time of Fifteen Years." He says that "1400 Saul Timbers" have been settled with him by Mr. Peter Moore and Mr. Amherst, and makes a complaint against "Nannoo Burdahr and Conjheram Chowdree [who] are the two Best Men in the Bodah Country." "An application by the "Deb Rajah concerning the Bootan Country" is forwarded to the Collector on June 7 by the Committee of Revenue at Calcutta. In July there comes a long letter on the subject from Samuel Turner whom Hastings had sent on a mission to Bhutan. Mr. Macpherson, he writes, "has shewn the Deb Raja's servants during their stay here a great deal of Notice and sent them away with the full Assurance that their Business would be settled to their satisfaction." On October 13 a letter is sent out by the Governor-General in Council, in which it is laid down that the French flag may be hoisted "only at the five original French factories at Chandernagore, Dacca, Patna, Cossimbazar and Ballasore, and at that Factory which they have been purmatted [sic] to establish in lieu of Jugdea." From a letter of April 24, 1787, we learn that the Collector's salary is Rs. 1,500 per mensem "exclusive of such commission as may hereafter be allowed," and a further sum of Rs. 150 for "house office and cutcherry rent." This sum, it is stated by Jonathan Duncan, the Secretary to the Council of July 18, is "liberal and such as with a prudent economy ought to provide a fund for your necessary Expences and well as a Recompense for your services, to furnish supplies for needless extravagance is what no Government can nor ought to do." The Collector's reply to this communication will no doubt be found in the next volume which should contain the letters issued during this period (1780-1787).

Select Index to General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Public or General, Ecclesiastical, Public Works, Railway, Public Works Revenue, Legislative and Financial Departments of the Government of Bengal: Volume IV, 1834-1856. (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot: Rupees Nine or Fifteen Shillings.)

Two volumes of this Select Index to documents preserved in the Record Room of the Bengal Secretariat have already been published. The first

volume dealt with the various branches of the Revenue Department and covered the period between 1771 and 1858. The second was concerned with the Commercial Departments and took in the letters from 1765 to 1854. The third volume is not yet ready: but meanwhile the forth volume makes its appearance. It embraces the period from 1833 when the Governments of India and Bengal were separated, to the year before the Sepoy Mutiny: and its scope is indicated by its title. The subjects indexed are of great variety. There is a minute by Sir Frederick Halliday on "anonymous accusations," dated October 26, 1855: and another of the same year regarding the rent payable by the French administration of Chandernagore: a memorandum on tides (1835) and a sailing directory (1837) by Captain Horsburgh, Hydrographer: and a note in 1836 to the effect that "Lady Chambers' house" is occupied by the Insolvency Court (was this the house at Bhowanipore?). The Nawab Nazim of Bengal sends presents for the Queen in 1852, and Rajah Bahadur Sir Radha Kanta Deb receives a letter from the King of Denmark in 1854. Land is first acquired for the Howrah Terminus in 1851. There are a few misprints, mostly in the spelling of foreign names.

The Editor's Note Book.

TILLY KETTLE'S fine full-length portrait of Sir Elijah Impey, which has been lent to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the Chief Justice and Judges

Tilly Kettle's
Portraits of Sir
Elijah Impey.

of the High Court, was painted, as we know, from the inscription on the canvas, in 1775, the year of the Nuncomar trial. But it is not the portrait used for the engraving by Carlos which forms the frontispiece to Elijah Barwell Impey's Memoirs of his father. This was also the work of Kettle: and its whereabouts have just been ascertained. It has been offered to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall: and we understand that there is a likelihood of its purchase. The owner, Mrs. Annesley, is a grand-daughter of Colonel Archibald Impey-Lovibond, a son of Edward Impey of the Bengal Civil Service (1800-1819): She is thus in direct descent from the Chief Justice whose son Edward Impey was. Colonel Impey Lovibond also owned a portrait of Warren Hastings by Zoffany of which a copy has been made for the East India United Service Club.

EDWARD Impey, who was born in Calcutta on February 25, 1785 and survived until 1858, was connected by marriage with two famous

Two Calcutta
Personalities.

Calcutta personalities, the Chevalier Antoine Pierre de L'Etang and James Pattle, a brother-civilian, who was the father of the seven "beautiful Miss Pattles." He married Julie de L'Etang at Calcutta on October 1, 1813; and Pattle married her sister Adeline at Mu. shidabad on February 18, 1811. The Chevalier, who died at Buxar in 1840, at the age of eighty-three, was a French *émigré*. He was a knight of St. Louis, and had been a Garde du Corps to Louis XVI, and page to Marie Antoinette with whom he was imprisoned in the conciergerie and who gave him her miniature. Coming to Calcutta from Pondicherry in 1796, he opened a riding school on the corner site in Park Street now occupied by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Pattle, according to Miss Kathleen Fitzpatrick's life of his grand-daughter Lady Henry Somerset was known as "Jim Blazes" by his friends in Calcutta. "If his force of character lost anything in its descent to his seven daughters, it must have been tremendous in himself for in them self will had the impetus of Niagara." The youngest of the sisters, Virginia Countess Somers, died as recently as 1910. They used, says Miss Fitzpatrick, to talk in Hindustani among themselves: all married distinguished men. There is a monument of Pattle and his wife in St. John's Church.

THE late Mr. J. D. Milner, in the admirable monograph on Tilly Kettle which has just been published by the Walpole Society, makes mention,

A Lost Historical
Painting.

on the authority of Sir William Foster, of a historical picture by that artist, which appears to have been offered



SIR ELIJAH IMPEY.

By TILLY KETTLE.

(The portrait used for the engraving by Carols
which forms the frontispiece to Elijah Barwell Impey's Memoir.)

The Old Court House building is seen in the distance.

to the Court of Directors in 1817. On October 28, of that year, Messrs. Lackington call attention to the forthcoming sale by auction (on November 22) of a picture by Tilly Kettle, which is described, with supreme indifference to fact, as "Lord Clive restoring Meer Jufir Nabob of Arcot to the musnud of the Carnatic." The dimensions are given as 11 feet 8 inches by 8 feet 4 inches: and the picture is said to contain portraits of Clive and Watson (and their historical inaccuracy) and the Nawab with "his Chief Sultana and daughter." It is further stated that Barwell paid 300 guineas for the painting and had it at Stanstead House: "At present it is the property of Mr. Wise, a bankrupt, at Bath." The statement is also made, in the enclosure to a subsequent letter, that the picture was painted for Barwell by Zoffany and not by Kettle. The Court of Directors refused to bid. We do not know whether it was pointed out to them that Admiral Watson died at Calcutta on August 16, 1757 (two months after the battle of Plassey), that Mir Jafir was reinstated in 1763 and died in January 1765, that Clive returned to Calcutta as Governor in May 1765, and that Kettle arrived in India in 1769 and Zoffany in 1783. But the disappearance of the picture is to be regretted. One wonders if it is possible to connect it with another vanished picture. "Lord Clive Putting Meir Jaffrier's eldest son on the Throne," which realised £84 at the Fountaine Sale in 1783. The artist in that case was definitely stated to be Benjamin Wilson (1721-1788) who succeeded Hogarth in 1761 as Serjeant Painter to the King and who employed Zoffany when he first came to England, to paint draperies for him.

MACAULAY has immortalized the story that during the famous seige of Arcot in 1751, "the sepoys came to Clive, not to complain of Clive and his Sepoys at Arcot. their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans: the thin gruel which was strained away from the rice would suffice for themselves." History, says Macaulay, contains no more touching instance of military fidelity or of the influence of a commanding mind. "The devotion of the little band surpassed anything that is related of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar or of the old Guard of Napoleon." Such is the story: and it has made a permanent impression upon the popular mind. But it has become the function of the modern historian to shatter one precious romance after another. In a footnote to his "Dupleix and Clive," Mr. Dodwell dismisses the incident as a myth. Clive, he says, reported in October 1751 that he had three months' provisions: and the siege was raised on November 25. The only contemporary reference which lends the slightest colour to the story is a passage in the French correspondence of 1752, which mentions that the besiegers "upcraided" the besieged with their want of provisions."

THUS far does Mr. Dodwell lead us. But Sir George Forrest points out in his *Life of Clive* (Vol. I. pp. 147-148) that the story is told by Sir John Malcolm as early as 1816 in a "Short Account of the Rise, Progress and Character of the Native Army," and that it

The Authority for
the Story.

is repeated in his biography of Clive. In his "Short Account" Malcolm says distinctly that he relates "this remarkable anecdote from an authority I cannot doubt, as it refers to the most unexceptionable contemporary witness." The "authority" is, no doubt, Clive's son Edward who was Governor of Madras from 1798 to 1803, and the "witness" can be none other than Clive himself. It may be conceded that there is no mention of the "witness," but only of the "authority" in Malcolm's *Life of Clive*: but the value of the evidence is not thereby impaired. The explanation is given in the earlier version. "'Your English Soldiers,' said the sepoys, 'can eat from our hands though we cannot from theirs: we will allot as their share every grain of rice and subsist ourselves by drinking the water in which it has been boiled.'" With due respect, therefore to Mr. Dodwell, whose argument (as we have seen) is incomplete, we can retain our belief in the story, while stripping it of the embroidery with which Macaulay has observed it.

ANOTHER historical event requires with more justice to be adjusted in perspective. The "crowning mercy" of Plassey was undoubtedly a notable victory, for it was won against odds of something like twenty to one. But it is necessary to exercise restraint in our estimate of the battle. There is much to be said for the view of Sir Alfred Lyall, who describes Plassey as a rout, and of Sir James Stephen who maintains that the battle of Buxar in 1764 possesses a far greater claim to be regarded as the origin of the British power in Bengal. The struggle at Buxar was fiercely contested, and the resistance offered to Munro was of the most stubborn character. It is not too much to say that a crushing defeat was turned into an unexpected victory at the eleventh hour. At Plassey, on the other hand, the only opposition which deserves the name came from a handful of Frenchmen in Siraj-ud-Daula's service. The English at Buxar lost 847 killed and wounded and the enemy left behind them 2,000 in dead alone. Clive's Casualty list amounted to 23 killed and 49 wounded: and the enemy's total loss out of an army of 60,000, did not exceed 1,000. Finally, it was not merely the Nawab Nazim of Bengal who was overthrown at Buxar: the Emperor Shah Alam and his titular Prime-Minister, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh were equally involved in the disaster.

AN Essay on "Eloquence" will be found in the second volume of Lord Birkenhead's latest book which he entitles "Law, Life, and Letters." Among the speeches which he singles out for praise is Edmund Burke's address on the Nabob of Arcot's debts: and in particular the following passage which (he says) astounds us by its eloquence but which, when delivered, was considered by Burke's political opponents to be undeserving of notice and reply:

Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no art conceived. All the horrors of war before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every

fire, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants, flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered: others without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function, fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amid the goading spears of drivers and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest, fled to the walled cities. But escaping from fire, sword and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine.

Burke was describing Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic in July, 1780: but every word is applicable to the Mahratta incursion into Bengal under Bhaskar Rao Pandit in 1743. He might almost have been translating the *Maharashtra Purana* of the Bengali poet Gangaram, of which Professor J. N. Samaddar of Patna gave an interesting account in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1924 (Vol. XXVII, pp. 44-55).

IN an article on "General de Boigne and the Taj" which appeared recently in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 12-24) Mr. J. J. Cotton appeared to find some difficulty in identifying Sir John Murray, the General's correspondent. His name is not to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and he is not the General Sir John Murray (1768-1827) mentioned by Mr. Cotton, who commanded the Bombay division under Wellesley and occupied Indore in 1804. The clue is to be found in Burke's Baronetage under the heading "'Macgregor of Macgregor.'" For "Sir John Murray, one of my best Calcutta friends," who is spoken of by Thomas Twining and who sent de Boigne's letters to Henry Dundas, was in reality the chief of the proscribed clan of Macgregors. He was born in 1745 and coming to India in the King's Army, became Commissary-General and later Military Auditor-General in Bengal. He received a baronetcy in 1795 and upon his return to Europe resumed the surname of Macgregor. His son Evan John Murray (or Macgregor) who was baptized in Calcutta on February 28, 1785, succeeded as second baronet in 1822, and was Governor of the Windward Islands. He died in 1841 and was the grandfather of Atholl John Macgregor (1836-1892) of the Madras Civil Service and Resident in Travancore.

ANOTHER Scottish chief, who entered the Service of the East India Company, was George Dundas of Dundas, who was in command of the *Winterton* Indiaman, when she was wrecked off the coast of Madagascar on August 22, 1792, on her voyage out to "the Coast and Bay." Several of the passengers and crew were drowned, and among them the commander, but among those who escaped were six young ladies. In the fourth volume of Hickey's *Memoirs* (p. 101) we read that "these six unfortunate females did not save a single article:" but they

were "treated with the utmost compassion and kindness by the savage inhabitants of the island:" and upon the survivors reaching Calcutta, a pilot schooner was despatched with presents.

MAJOR V. C. HODSON has written to point out that Dr. Holzman whose book on "The Nabobs in England" we reviewed in a recent issue of Charles Marsac. *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXXIII, p. 65) is in error in stating that Major Charles Marsac, or Marsack, of Caversham Park, Oxfordshire, died on January 26, 1837. The correct date of his death, as stated in the registers of Caversham Church, is November 15, 1820: and as he was then eighty-four, he must have been born in 1744 and entered the Bengal Army as a second Lieutenant in 1765 at the age of twenty-one. It was his wife Charlotte, the daughter of Richard Becher, who died at Brighton on January 20 (not 26) 1837 in her seventieth year (see *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year). She was baptized at Calcutta on 1767. According to a correspondent in *Notes and Queries* (II Ser. Vol. XI, p. 115) Marsack is described in a Becher pedigree as a natural son of George the Second. His eldest child was baptized in Caversham Church on October 22, 1784: and he had purchased Caversham Park from Earl Cadogan in the preceding year. His father-in-Law Richard Becher who had left Bengal with a fortune in 1771 and had become a Director of the Company, was obliged on account of financial difficulties, to return to India in 1781 as Superintendent of the Mint at Dacca and died in Calcutta on November 17, 1782.

MARSAC himself resigned the Company's service in 1779. His career in India seems to have been undistinguished, and the source of his wealth An Unknown Nabob. is not revealed by any contemporary account—the *Gentleman's Magazine* does not even record his death—but he was evidently a very rich man. Caversham Park had been built in the reign of King William the Third at a cost of £130,000: and Marsac gained considerable notoriety by the large sums which he spent in making it still more magnificent. Notwithstanding this, he left real property amounting to £107,000 and personalty valued at £75,000. After his death Caversham Park was purchased by William Crawshay the iron master and it is still owned by his descendants. It was burned down in 1850 and rebuilt. Some idea of its former glories may be obtained from a coloured plate of the house and park of 500 acres "drawn and engraved by W. H. Timins, May 1, 1823" and labelled "Col. Marsack's." As Charles Marsack was then dead, the reference may be to his eldest son, Lt.-Col. Richard Henry Marsack who died in 1852 and who is described as of the Grenadier Guards in a memorial tablet in Holy Trinity Church, Reading (*Notes and Queries*, XII Ser. Vol. VII, p. 478). It is certainly a remarkable fact that the death of so wealthy a man as Charles Marsack should have passed unnoticed, and that no sort of reference to his fourteen years' residence in Bengal can be traced.

REFERENCES have been made in the Editor's Note-book from time to time to George John Siddons, the son of the famous tragedy queen, for whom his mother obtained a Bengal writership through the Prince Regent, and whose period of service extended from 1803 to 1838. He married Mary Fombelle, who is said to have "derived her blood from the Kings of Delhi," and who was, no doubt, the daughter of John Fombelle, a Bengal writer of 1783. One of their daughters married Horace Hayman Wilson the Sanskrit scholar, whose bust by Chantrey and portrait by Robert Home may be seen in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Wilson came out as an assistant surgeon in 1808 and was Assay Master at the Calcutta Mint from 1816 to 1832, when he was elected to the newly-established Boden Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford University. He was appointed Librarian at the India House in 1836 and died in 1860 at the age of seventy-four. The fate of another daughter is recorded by the late Mr. H. G. Keene in his book "A Servant of John Company," which was published by W. Thacker and Co. in 1897:

At the beginning of 1856 Mr. Robert Thornhill, my chief [at Muzaffarnagar] was sent to Futtehghurh as District Judge. Mrs. Thornhill was a grand-daughter of the great Mrs. Siddons, and had in a marked degree the Kemble good looks. She was murdered the following year with her husband and child.

Mrs. Siddons' three brothers, John Philip, Charles, and Stephen Kemble were all actors: and her husband William Siddons whom she married in 1773 at the age of eighteen and who died at Bath in 1804, was an actor also. She herself survived until 1831.

A TABLET in the Old Mission Church records the death on January 21, 1858, at the age of eighty-six, of Mrs. Hannah Ellerton. She was the mother-in-law of Daniel Corrie, Archdeacon of Calcutta from 1823 to 1834, and first Bishop of Madras, where he died on February 5, 1837: but she has another claim to remembrance, for she is the lady who assured the Rev. James Long that she could remember the day when there were only two houses in "the road to Chowringhy," and that she had likewise a vivid recollection of the famous duel between Hastings and Francis in 1780, when she must have been a child of eight or nine. Lord Dalhousie in a letter of April 16, 1850, is evidently referring to her when he writes: "I saw an old lady the other day at Calcutta who recollected the Duke of Wellington well there after Assaye and always spoke of him as Colonel Wellesley. She remembers, too, seeing Warren Hastings brought home wounded from his duel with Francis, and yet she is as active and young in mind as any thing I ever saw:" (Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie, 1911: p. 121). The late Mr. H. G. Keene made her acquaintance when he arrived in Calcutta as a young writer in 1847, and tells her story of the duel differently, and more accurately in the book from which we have just quoted:

Mrs. Ellerton used to relate that she was riding with her father that morning towards Alipore, when they met a litter in which lay a form covered with a bloodstained sheet and were informed by the bearers that they were "carrying Francis Sahib, who had been shot by the Lord Sahib."

Mr. C. W. E. Cotton does not appear to have been aware of this passage, when he discussed the matter in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1917 (Vol. XV, p. 64): and it is a curious fact that Lord Dalhousie's inverted version of the story is repeated by Mr. H. James Rainey in his "Historical and Topographical Sketches of Calcutta" (Englishman Press, 1876: p. 87).

MRS. ELLERTON was twice married. Her maiden name was Hannah Ayres, and she married William Myers, White Smith, at Fort William on January 7, 1787. Elizabeth Myers, who was her daughter by this husband, was born in 1789 and married Daniel Corrie at Agra on December 12, 1812. William Myers died in Calcutta on July 12, 1817, at the age of fifty-nine: and his widow married John Ellerton, an indigo planter, at Benares on October 14, 1818. Her father would seem to be the John Ayres, mariner, who came out in the *Resolution* in 1770 and died in Calcutta on September 14, 1814.

AMONG the many godsons of Warren Hastings was Brigadier-General Warren Hastings Leslie Frith, Colonel Commandant of the Bengal Artillery, who was baptized in Calcutta on April 23, 1787, and died at Southampton on January 23, 1854, at the age of sixty-seven. He was the son of Captain (afterwards, Major) Robert Frith, with whom Ozias Humphry stayed at Lucknow in 1786, and who had accompanied Hastings to Benares in 1780 and had remained behind to command a portion of the Nawab Wazir's forces. In 1807 young Frith, who had returned to India with a cadetship in 1803, writes from Agra to say that his father had died in very poor circumstances: and a paragraph in the *Home News* of August 6, 1875, throws some light upon the reason. Besides two daughters, one of whom married General Sir Archdale Wilson, Baronet of Delhi, he had one son, also named Warren Hastings Leslie Frith, who practised as a solicitor in Calcutta. In recording the death of Mr. Frith the *Home News* observes that he was "chiefly remarkable for the enormous claims he brought against the Indian Government on account of money lent by his grand-father to one of the kings of Oude."

The claim in question, if we remember rightly, amounted to something like half a million, but it was opposed by the Indian Government, in accordance with the rule re-stated in the India House despatch of 1791, that the Indian Government would 'never enforce payment of loans made by Europeans to natives'—a rule which was successfully brought to bear against the house of Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad [in

There is a manuscript booklet in the Imperial Library which would seem to have been prepared by Mr. Frith for the purpose of his claim. It contains an account of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the charges preferred against Lord Wellesley in 1805 by James Paull, the Lucknow adventurer whose career was described in Vol. XXVIII of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

IN announcing the death at Benares on July 31, 1833, of William Augustus Brooke at the age of eighty-one, the *Gentleman's Magazine* observes that The old Qui-Hye, he was "one of the few instances which have occurred of that complete alienation or expatriation of mind and indifference to their native country which has sometimes appeared in persons who have been long resident in India." Brooke originally came out to Bengal in 1769, and owed his writership, it was said, to Edward Wheler. When he was judge of the court of Appeal at the Presidency in 1794, he lived at Belvedere: and he had also a country house at Hooghly where Lord Valentia stayed with him in 1803. For twenty-nine years—from 1804 to 1833—he resided continuously at Benares: and at the time of his death he had served the Company for sixty-four years, without once revisiting Europe. He entertained Hastings at Bankipore in 1784 and Heber was his guest in 1824 at Secrole near Benares. Sir David Ochterlony was a *qui-hye* of the same type. When Heber met him in Rajputana, he told him that he had not been home for fifty-four years. He scandalized the good bishop by sitting in a *choga* and *pagri* on a divan while attendants kept him cool by waving fans of peacock's feathers. Another *qui-hye* Frederick John Shore, the son of Lord Teignmouth, also took to wearing Indian dress and a Government order was issued forbidding the practice. This fondness for Oriental customs manifested itself in other ways. Old Army Orders may be read which prohibit officers from taking part in the *Holi* festival.

THE wearing of whiskers and a beard was regarded as a sign of "Indiani-
zation." "Lady Nugent and her husband (the Comander-in-Chief)

Whiskered were the guests at Delhi in December 1812 of the President, Civilians. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe. When they left they were accompanied by his two assistants, civilians of eleven and twelve years' service. Their oddities quite shocked Lady Nugent, and she tried to "convert" them. She writes in her Journal:

December 24 [1812].—I shall now say a few words of Messrs. Gardner and Fraser who are of our party: they both wear immense whiskers, and neither will eat beef or pork, being as much Hindoos as Christians, if not more: they are both of them clever and intelligent, but eccentric; and having come to this country early, they have formed opinions and prejudices that make them almost natives. In our conversations together, I endeavour to insinuate everything that I think will have any weight with them, I talk of the religion

they were brought up to, and of their friends who would be astonished and shocked at their whiskers, beards, etc.: all this is generally debated between us in a good natured manner, and I still hope they will think of it.

William Fraser who was a brother of James Baillie Fraser, became Resident at Delhi later on and was shot dead on March 22, 1833, when out riding, at the instigation of the Nawab of Ferozepore, who was hanged. The Hon'ble Edward Gardner, who died as recently as 1861, was the fifth son of Admiral Lord Gardner, the first peer: and was Resident at Khatmandu from 1816 until his retirement on annuity in 1823. The romance of the Gardner peerage is well-known.

MUCH ceremony was observed. Maria Graham (Lady Callcott) visited Poona in December 1809 and stayed at the Presidency, two miles from the city, "at the junction of the rivers Moolha and Mootha, on which account it is called the *sungum* or junction." She notes in her journal:

When dinner was announced we assembled in the garden; two choab-dars walked before the President to make way for the great man according to the Oriental Custom, but he dispenses with the ceremony of their proclaiming his titles as he walks into his apartments.

As late as the thirties, the President at Murshidabad, according to Emma Roberts, "kept a train of elephants, and when he appeared in state was surrounded by a croud of retainers chobdars and chuprassees, carrying silver maces and sheathed swords."

WHO was the original of Jos Sedley, the famous Collector of Boggley-wollah? There is a statement by Mr. Henry Beveridge on record—we believe it may be found in one of the earlier volumes of the *Calcutta Review*—that he was informed by Mr. Shawe the Judge of Sylhet (who was Thackeray's brother-in-law) that the character was an over-coloured picture of George Trant Shakespear, a cousin of the novelist, who was Magistrate of Midnapore from 1839 to 1843 and took furlough to Europe in the latter year. He had not left India since his arrival in Bengal in 1829, and did not return, for he died at Geneva on October 24, 1844. The first number of *Vanity Fair*, which was published in monthly parts, appeared in January 1847, and the last (a double number) in July 1848. Mr. Beveridge came out in 1858: and his informant, Merrick Arthur Gethin Shawe, was a writer of 1834 and retired in 1865 as judge of Sylhet. Thackeray married Shawe's sister in Paris on August 20, 1836. Their father, Colonel Merrick Shawe of the 76th Regiment, had been military secretary to Lord Wellesley in India.

THERE are several claimants to the distinction of providing the prototype of Colonel Newcome. Among them are Thackeray's step-father,

Colonel Newcombe. Major Henry Carmichael Smyth (1792-1864), of the Bengal Engineers, who married Ann Becher, Richmond Thackeray's widow, three years after his death in 1815: his elder brother, Major-General Charles Montauban Carmichael (1790-1870), of the Bengal Cavalry, who dropped the surname of Smyth in 1842: and the two brothers of George Trant Shakespear, Sir Richmond Campbell Shakespear (1812-1861) and Colonel John Dowdeswell Shakespear (1807-1867), who were the grandsons of John Shakespear, Chief of Dacca in 1778, and sons of John Talbot Shakespear (Bengal Civil Service 1800-1825) and Emily Thackeray. A statement made by Thackeray to their nephew, David Fremantle Carmichael, seems to support the view that the character was a combination of Major Carmichael Smyth and his brother. But the career of General Charles Carmichael more nearly resembles that of Colonel Newcome. He went from Charter house (Greyfriars) into the Bengal Cavalry, he was a Companion of the Order of the Bath, and he came home on furlough in 1844 as a Lieutenant-Colonel and returned to India for a year—from 1848 to 1849. Finally, he was an original member of the Oriental Club in Hanover Square, where Colonel Newcome used to entertain his friends: and his mannerisms and appearance were said to be the same.

WHAT was the meaning of the star or stars affixed to the names of East India stockholders? There are at least two interesting allusions to "Stars" in this practice in famous novels. Disraeli in "Sybil" makes India Stock. Mr. Ormsby say: "The only stars I have got are four stars in India stock:" and Thackeray in "Vanity Fair" tells us that Miss Swartz, one of the pupils at Miss Pinkerton's academy for young ladies, "was reported to have three stars to her name in the East India stockholders' list." A star meant the right to exercise a vote at the meetings of the Court of Proprietors, otherwise known as the General Court, which elected the Directors, framed bye-laws, and declared a dividend. Under the Act of 1773 the possession of £1,000 stock gave one vote: £3,000 entitled the owner to two votes, £6,000 to three votes, and £10,000 to four votes. The number of members of the Court of Proprietors in 1825 was 2,003. In 1843 it was 1,880, of whom 333 had two votes, 64 three votes, and 44 four votes.

SIR ALGERNON LAW has endeavoured, in a recently published book, to correct the prevalent impression of his relative Lord Ellenborough's short tenure of office as Governor-General (1842-1844). Lady Ellenborough and the Arab Sheikh. He owed his recall by the Court of Directors, we are told, to his persistent refusal to provide "jobs" for their sons and nephews and cousins. Into the merits of this controversy we need not enter, beyond mentioning that Ellenborough enjoyed throughout the support of Queen Victoria, who promoted him to an earldom, and the Duke of Wellington. He lives in history, if at all, as the author of the grandsloquent proclamation on the so-called Gates of Somnath, which were promptly consigned to a godown: and, in a minor degree, as the husband of an eccentric

lady whom he married in 1824 and divorced in 1830, and who, after some surprising adventures on the Continent, found her way to Syria and there became the wife of an Arab Sheikh. Lord Redesdale, who visited her in later years in company with Sir Richard Burton (then British Consul at Damascus), records that she seemed very fond and proud of her Bedawin husband, and contented with her nomad life which was divided between a tent in the desert and an apartment in Damascus furnished in the European style.

SINCE the publication of the notes on the Palmer family in our last issue (pp. 72-74) additional information has reached us, for some of which

The Elder Sons we have to thank Major Hodson and Mr. M. P. Hanley, of General Palmer. Laojan Tea Estate, Assam, whose wife is descended from "King" Palmer of Hyderabad. It has been established that General William Palmer (1740-1816) had three sons by his first marriage: Samuel Palmer (1762-1814) who was born at St. Kitts in the West Indies while his father was presumably serving in a King's regiment, William George Palmer (1764-1814) and John Palmer (1767-1836), the "Prince of Merchants." The two former were officers of the Bengal Army, and their names and the dates of death are inscribed upon the same tombstone in the South Park Street cemetery (Bengal Obituary, p. 202). Samuel died on March 6, 1814, aged 51 years and 6 months, and William George exactly a month later (April 6, 1814) aged 50. The relevant entries in the *Calcutta Gazette* have been traced by the writer:

Thursday March 10, 1814. On Saturday night last after a severe illness of several months which he sustained with more than ordinary fortitude. Colonel Samuel Palmer, eldest son of Lieutenant General Palmer.

Thursday April 7, 1814. On Tuesday last Major W. G. Palmer of the 25th Native Infantry.

Lieut. S. Palmer was commanding the escort of his father, who was then President with Mahdaji Sindhia, in 1791: and his brother was attached to the escort. There is no mention of W. G. Palmer in Dodwell and Miles, but Major Hodson has ascertained that he was admitted to the Service on March 20, 1783, and was gazetted Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel on June 4, 1814 (after his death). Samuel Palmer embarked for India on the *Fox* on March 7, 1779, being then seventeen years of age.

THERE is an amusing reference to John Palmer's wife in the Journal of

Lady Nugent, from which we have already quoted and which was published in 1839. She had already remarked on the Mrs. John Palmer's Hookah. "most extraordinary" noise made by men's hookahs at an evening party—"some a deep base, others a bubbling treble"—and then turns to the ladies:

March 17, 1812.—A great many hookahs to-day and for the first time a lady brought hers, a Mrs. Palmer, a very fine-looking person,

who piques herself on her likeness to Catalani. . . Her hookah was a particularly gay one, one with a gold mouthpiece, and her hookah-bedar (the persons who has the peculiar charge of her hookah) had a most picturesque dress. I tried to smoke it, as she assured me it was only a composition of spices, but I did it awkwardly, swallowing the smoke, and the consequence was I coughed all night.

IT remains to add, while on the subject of the elder sons of General Palmer, that Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse (1825-1916), once a civilian judge of the Calcutta High Court, was the grandson, and not the son-in-law of John Palmer. Mary Anne Palmer, who died in 1879, married in 1814 Henry William Hobhouse (1791-1868) of the Bengal Civil Service (1809-1827) and afterwards a member of the Calcutta firm of Palmer and Co. He was a brother of Sir John Cam Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), who was succeeded in the baronetcy by his nephew and their son, Charles Parry Hobhouse.

GENERAL PALMER'S second wife, Faizun-nissa or Bibi Faiz Bakhsh, died at Hyderabad in 1828 and is buried in the Palmer *maqbara* near the Hyderabad mosque in Troop Bazar. William ("King") Palmer, her eldest son (1781-1867) came to Hyderabad in 1799 and entered the military service of the Nizam, whose French battalions had been disbanded in the previous year. He rose to the rank of brigadier but had retired by 1810 to found the famous banking house of Palmer and Co. His original partners were his younger brother Hastings Palmer (1785-1860). Vyankathi Das, a *sahukar* from Gujrat, Samuel Russell and William Currie the Residency Surgeon. The Rumbolds joined the firm at a later date. Of Hastings Palmer H. J. Briggs writes in his book on "The Nizam" (1861: Vol. II, p. 168) that he was a man of gay sociable disposition who had been in early life an indigo-planter near Moorshedabad in association with Charles Hampton (a brother probably of John Palmer's wife, Mary Sarah Hampton). The connexion with Calcutta was rendered by William Henry Palmer, a son of "King" Palmer, whose second wife, Mary Anne Bacon, was related to the well-known de Souza family of Calcutta.

AS we go to press, we learn that the portrait of Sir Elijah Impey, which forms the subject of the first note, has been purchased by Sir Walter Willson and most generously presented by him to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

EVAN COTTON.

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